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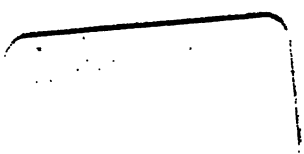
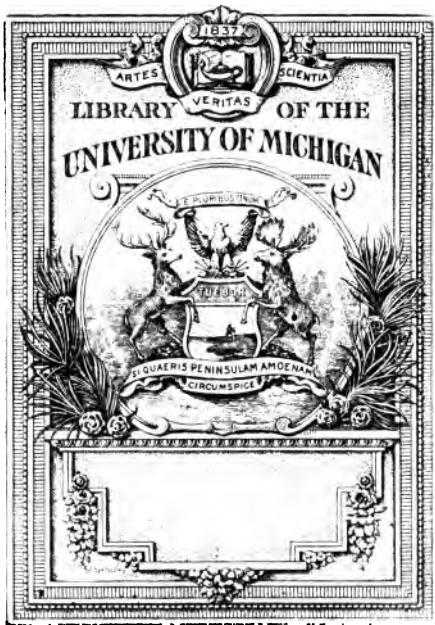
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NON-PARTISANSHIP

TEMPERANCE EFFORT.

BY REV. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.



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**STANDARD LEAGUE DOCUMENT**

No. I.

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**NON-PARTISAN**

**TEMPERANCE EFFORT**

DEFINED, ADVOCATED, AND VINDICATED.

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By Rev. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.

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**Boston :**

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL LEAGUE

(NON-PARTISAN AND NON-SECTARIAN)

FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

1885.

**FRANK WOOD,**  
**PRINTER,**  
**352 WASHINGTON STREET**  
**BOSTON.**

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## NON-PARTISANSHIP IN TEMPERANCE EFFORTS.

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THE document on the last page of the cover sets forth in a comprehensive way the character of the National League, showing its work to be largely moral and educational, a necessity in every true reform, and so fundamental, that it ought to take and maintain precedence over all other forms of effort. These features will be emphasized and elaborated in the future documents and work of the League.

The League has been thrust out, by Providence, in a great public exigency. Two things have characterized the feelings of large bodies of temperance people during the past three or four months—revulsion and distraction. A strong antipathy against partisan temperance action, and an unwillingness to be, in any way, compromised by such action, or to be drawn into a *quasi* support to partisan temperance, started the inquiry among a large class of intelligent and reliable friends of temperance, What can be done to conserve, and to give employment and direction to, these masses who sincerely desire to promote this great cause?

During about two months these thoughts were gradually taking form, resulting in the organization of this National League, on a strictly non-partisan basis. *Non-partisan* seemed to be the talismanic term which would inspire confidence, attract support, and crystallize effort. Responses from all over the country concentrated upon this point. A considerable number of Democrats, a few persons who voted with the "Third Party," and many Republicans, were among the favorable respondents. January 1, 1885, the League was organized. Its non-partisanship was recognized in its list of officers, which includes,—10 Democrats, several who voted the "Third Party" ticket last autumn, 17



whose politics are unknown to the writer of this article, while the remainder are reputed to be Republicans. Nearly all the Vice-Presidents, except a few whose well-known views made it unnecessary, have been conferred with, and have indorsed the platform of principles. It is the purpose of the Directors to maintain the non-partisan attitude of the League in such perfect good faith, that a larger number of temperance Democrats, temperance Republicans, temperance Greenbackers, and temperance "Third Party" men will yet be found happily working together on this non-partisan platform, to advance the temperance reform.

It has been decided by the Directors to publish a series of elaborate documents to be gratuitously distributed among all the members of the League, and by other provision, more widely. They have deemed it wise that the first of these documents should set forth the distinctive non-partisan character of the League, defining and advocating this attitude. This has become, and is quite likely to be for some time, an active issue in the temperance reform. Coming before the public on such a platform, it is incumbent upon the League to set forth reasons for such action.

This will not be done in a spirit of antagonism toward the advocates of temperance partisanship, but because it is a living issue in the public mind, and because we believe the question involves great vital interests connected with the work of true reform. To us, it is clear that a political temperance party is not the most advantageous means of promoting temperance, that it will not much help the cause of temperance, and, however much it may help it, will hinder and injure it more. It is therefore due to us and to the public that the case should be presented. Such is the purpose of this paper — No. 1 of the **STANDARD LEAGUE DOCUMENTS**. Subsequent documents will enter into the practical phases of the temperance reform.

### **I. Non-Partisan Temperance Efforts Defined.**

1. *Non-partisan temperance insists upon legislation against the liquor traffic.* It boldly lifts up and carries forward this standard. There can be no hesitation at this point. We would intensify and advance action on this line.

Article V., in the platform of principles, says:—

We believe it is the right and duty of the State to legislate against the

traffic in alcoholic beverages, and to enforce laws duly enacted, and that good results have always followed wise legislation when faithfully enforced.

Again, Article VII. reads :—

We believe that the temperance cause should avail itself of the advantages of legislative and civil action, secured by legitimate political effort.

Our statement of *methods* says :—

THIRD. To use all legitimate civil legislation, and to refer the question, for final decision, to the constitutional verdict of the people.

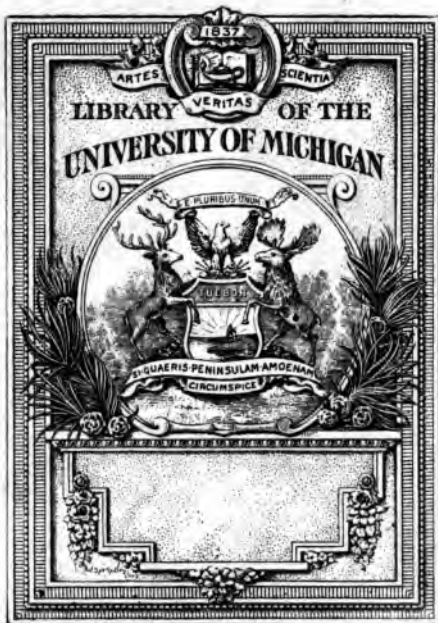
The League fully recognizes the right and duty of legislation for the suppression of the liquor traffic, and that such action is of incalculable importance. Whatever may be done by moral agencies, and however important the education of the people by the pulpit, the platform, and the press, nevertheless, all citizens should demand of duly constituted governments protection against any evil which, like the liquor traffic, wars against their greatest and best interests. So long as we recognize the object of government to be to promote the welfare of the governed, we shall not hesitate to ask legislative bodies to protect society against this devastating foe.

Does some one ask, Is not such action political? We answer, It is, in the literal sense of the term, for its primary signification comprises any action pertaining to the affairs of a city or state, and therefore includes all civil and legislative transactions. In this sense we do not discard political action ; but, in the secondary sense in which the term has come to be often used in common life, as meaning partisan issues and struggles, we do discard it. Our position will be understood by carefully reading Article VII. :—

We believe that the temperance cause should avail itself of the advantages of legislative and civil action, *secured by legitimate political effort* ; but we nevertheless believe that *partisan political affiliations should be avoided*, as expensive, dangerous, and often disastrous, modes of moral agitation and education.

2. *What kind of political movements for temperance does the League regard as legitimate?*

The platform (last clause) invites “persons of all classes, creeds, etc., to work and vote against the liquor traffic,” but “without exposing the cause, with its varied interests, to the personal schemes of politicians, and the perils of party politics.” Some persons have said they



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We believe that moral and social reforms should not be launched upon the tempestuous billows of partisan political strifes. It is our purpose to teach and disseminate these views in the public mind, under a deep conviction of duty, to which the painful indications of the times clearly point.

It is on this basis that all the efficient temperance organizations that ever existed have been maintained. The Sons of Temperance, the Good Templars, the Temple of Honor, have always, in their organic capacity, jealously guarded against partisan political entanglements. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, until their late grave mistake in the direction of political partisanship, achieved transcendent results on a purely non-partisan basis of work. All the wonderful advances of the temperance reformation, from 1826 to 1860, moral and social transformations scarcely if ever equaled, were effected on a non-partisan basis. This League proposes to perform its work in good faith, with strict exemption, in its organic capacity, from political partisanship.

4. More than all, as already intimated, *the founders of the League do not believe in the policy of a political temperance party*, with candidates for State and National offices, running in antagonism to other political parties on State and National issues. Such a course, as will be hereafter demonstrated, needlessly, and, we fear hopelessly, imperils the temperance cause, keeps it "upon the ragged edge" of popular irritation and bitter prejudices, awakens antipathy toward it when it would otherwise receive favor, alienates its weaker friends, and thus prevents progress.

It has been said that the League is not strictly non-partisan, because "it is organized upon such a basis that 'Third Party' temperance men cannot join it," and that "they were not invited to the meetings for consultation when it was organized." But how could a non-partisan league be otherwise constituted? The movement was undertaken by persons who had clear and strong convictions that partisan temperance is unwise in policy and hurtful in its influence.

This League was organized for two objects: *First, but subordinately, and incidentally, to advocate the superiority of non-partisan methods of promoting temperance; secondly, and mainly, to use such methods in promoting temperance.* Of course, those who believe in the superiority of partisan methods cannot help the League in its first object, but they can in the second and chief object. Indeed, many of them are ready to work, and some of them at this moment are working, *in non-partisan methods*, on various local issues, where men of all

parties are voting for no-license, or trying to secure temperance instruction in the public schools, or to restrict the liquor traffic through the action of the Law and Order Leagues.

The "Third Party" has its two objects, also: *First, to urge the superiority of partisan methods; secondly, to work such methods.* Neither of these objects, however, can the great bulk of temperance workers conscientiously help. This shows how partisan methods divide, and non-partisan methods unite, the friends of temperance.

This is the point of divergence—the policy of resorting to partisan methods for promoting temperance. In favor of non-partisan methods we present our reasons at length.

## II. Non-Partisan Temperance Efforts Advocated.

I. *A political temperance party inflicts a fundamental injury upon the temperance reform, by removing it very largely from its proper and necessary sphere into the arena of State and National contests.*

Time, strength, and effort which should be expended in moulding and purifying individuals and neighborhoods are thus concentrated upon partisan contests, and attention is directed to phases of the liquor question only remotely bearing upon the matter of true reform. The consequence is, that practical results greatly desired are not reached; the evil we seek to remove grows and spreads; the enforcement of liquor laws becomes more lax and difficult; and the young are led astray, even under the echoes of noisy temperance partisans. The temperance cause is primarily a moral reform, purifying the common life of society, having to do chiefly with personal habits and social customs. Whatever relations law sustains to temperance as a means of protecting society against the liquor traffic,—and on this subject we hold no doubtful attitude,—nevertheless the question resolves itself into moral aspects; for the legal protection sought is in the interest of morals.

It has been a widely accepted principle that public morals, depending as they do chiefly upon the intelligent convictions and voluntary action of individuals, rather than upon extraneous appliances, should not be carried into partisan contests and antagonisms. To call off attention from the practical work of reform; to suspend efforts for moral and social culture; to cease the leavening work of instruction; to neglect the toning up of public sentiment, as many have done; and to concen-

trate energies in party contests,—is a serious betrayal of a great moral trust. To transfer a reform, in which the chief work must be done with the individual and in the local community, to a political party, and complicate it with uncertain National issues and the fortunes of political adventurers, however well intended by some, is trifling with grave interests, periling the home, the neighborhood, and the State. The magnifying of legislation as the means of relief from intemperance, is another evil result of such a cause. It fosters a vice, already too widely spread,—over-dependence on law,—most fatal to moral improvement and the real security of society. How many who have been conspicuous in partisan contests have never rendered the slightest aid in enforcing liquor laws, or in inculcating virtue by the patient process of daily instruction!

“To men of practical rather than visionary methods of thinking, to begin the attack upon the liquor traffic through a canvass for the Presidency, and by aiming at its suppression by Congressional legislation, seems very much like an attempt to mount to the housetop without the use of the stairway, or like rejecting the use of scaffolding in erecting a lofty edifice. The first work to be done, and that nearest at hand, and the most readily practicable, is in each one’s own municipality or political locality; and the enforcement of laws already on the statute-book against the unrestrained freedom of the traffic,—which may well form an issue in the election of local officials,—would be the best possible preparation for further suppressive legislation, or further election of legislative and executive officers of the State on that issue. This kind of work may not so well meet the requirements of men of very lively imaginations, but in practically beneficial results it will commend itself to plain, common-sense people.”\*

The League has adopted as one of its fundamental postulates the principle that “*moral reforms depend primarily upon intelligent convictions in the hearts of the people.*” This truth, almost axiomatic, is so clear and so vital, that it is certain we cannot make much progress in this reform if we do not leaven and tone up the popular heart. There are prohibitory States, in large areas of which there has been a serious backward movement in respect to liquor selling and drinking, simply because for some years nearly all that was heard about temperance was glorying in, or ranting about, prohibition. They had a prohibitory law, but they folded their arms, and stood back to see it work;—they let

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\* Methodist Review, 1885, p. 278.

their young people grow up without instruction in regard to total abstinence, and have awakened to the reality of the ruin of their young men, even under the boasted laws.

2. *The evils of partisanship in matters pertaining to local, social, and moral interests are coming to be widely felt.*

Mr. Robert Mathews, at a recent meeting of the Fortnightly Club, of Rochester, N. Y., discoursed in a thoughtful way upon the misgovernment of cities, and the remedies. The ground-work of the proposed reforms was the complete separation of party politics from city governments. His plan has, doubtless, serious, if not insuperable, defects, with very considerable merits, but his discussion shows in what direction intelligent minds are turning. The editor of a leading Albany journal has said: "There is probably not a city in the land whose thoughtful inhabitants do not feel the need of radical municipal reform; and all will admit that there is no legitimate connection between *party politics* and *local administration*." Hence he argues that party politics should be divorced from municipal government.

But just at the time when thoughtful persons are pressing the necessity of this divorce, some misguided champions of temperance are seeking to carry this cause, which is primarily one of morals in local communities, into partisan strifes.

We are aware that the liquor traffic has other than local and moral bearings; but none can deny that it is primarily moral and social, and that the work of this reform must begin and be maintained in the village, before it can hope for success in the State; and until it has become well rooted and grounded in the State, it can make but little progress nationally. The idea of connecting this question of individual morals and social order in our towns and cities, and the local administration of laws against the liquor traffic, with the strifes and prejudices of partisanship, and the scrambles and personal fortunes of politicians, seems to many too manifestly and grossly unwise to be entertained for a moment. How short-sighted and superficial this treatment of great and precious interests! This is not home protection. It perils the home. It is bad in its influence for the citizens of a community to look abroad to State or National authorities or parties to promote social order and morals in their neighborhoods. It can only lead to a decline of a sense of personal obligation, to the suspension of home effort, and to a transferring of responsibility to those who have no local interest in the case.

3. It has been forcibly said that *a political temperance party "splits the temperance army into two divisions, having different plans*



of action," and that "*these conflict one with the other, neutralizing their power.*"

There are multitudes of reliable, devoted temperance people who do not see, and, according to present indications, will not soon see, the wisdom of a separate and distinct party organization for the promotion of this reform. If, therefore, such a party is insisted upon, the friends of temperance are likely to work against each other, and money, time, and efforts will be wasted. This has been amply illustrated in recent contests. A year ago, as we have been credibly informed, when the Constitutional Prohibitory Amendment was pending in New York State, the Prohibitory party put forth separate candidates for the Assembly in forty-three Assembly districts, the effect of which, in eight districts, was to defeat candidates in favor of the measure and elect men opposed to it. The Amendment only needed two more votes to submit it to the people. The submission was, therefore, defeated by the Prohibition party, by refusing to vote for candidates for the Assembly who were not "Third Party" men. From a high authority in Washington we learn that, in the recent National election, fourteen Congressmen who voted in the last Congress for the bill for appointing a Commission of Inquiry into the alcoholic liquor question, were defeated, and men opposed to the measure were elected, because the "Third Party" insisted upon sustaining candidates of its own in those Representative districts. In the recent election in Maryland, two counties and several districts which had attained prohibition by local option, and, according to the terms of the law, were to vote on the question again last November, and one county which voted on the question for the first time, all lost it—in consequence, as we were informed by prominent Marylanders, of the complication of the political issues by the "Third Party."

How did Michigan lose her Maine law? It was by this same "Third Party" movement, if the story as told by a Professor in Adrian College, in a Boston paper last October, is correct. We have seen no contradiction. It was also by "Third Party" action, says a prominent Pennsylvanian, that Pennsylvania lost her local option law, almost a dozen years ago. Do we need cite more cases?

Besides, it is a familiar fact that many not avowed believers in prohibition have voted for prohibition when the question has been submitted to them in a non-partisan way, who will never vote for it as a party measure.

Is it said that all temperance voters should unite upon the "Third Party" ticket? Will saying so make them do it? There are various

other questions in which voters are interested which will have an influence in determining their votes. The *Christian Leader* truly said: "Tariffs, internal improvements, National improvements, the civil service, the regulation of trade and commerce—these can never be indifferent matters; they must always demand the considerate thought and care of our statesmen," and, consequently, of the voters who make the statesmen. Looking at men as they are, it is not reasonable to presume that they will easily be led to disregard these issues, and especially if they think their own party, whichever party that may be, already embraces the great mass of reliable temperance men.

4. *The "Third Party" minifies the temperance cause by giving a false impression of the number of its adherents.*

Probably not one-thirtieth part of those in favor of the enactment of laws for the suppression of the liquor traffic voted the "Third Party" ticket in the late election. How the liquor-dealers and the politicians estimate the temperance forces we do not know; but the vote of the "Third Party" in the late election makes the temperance army appear very small, and, ordinarily, would scarcely be noticed. Mr. Henry B. Metcalf, in the *Providence Journal*, recently stated the case as follows:—

If we study the record more broadly, we shall find that Kansas, Iowa, Maine, and Ohio have lately thrown 641,171 votes for the most radical form of temperance legislation, *i. e.*, constitutional prohibition; and of these same 641,171 votes, 19,157 (a little less than three per cent) followed the fortunes of Governor St. John, while 622,014 (or ninety-seven per cent) declined to do so.

And men who think themselves wise, propose to drive the 622,000 to join the 19,000.

In 1883, Massachusetts, by cities and towns, voted on the question of liquor license in aggregate as follows; viz., For license, 94,034, or 53 per cent, against license, 82,505, or 47 per cent, Boston and vicinity furnishing the license majority. Massachusetts says 47 per cent against liquor-selling, and only 3¼ per cent for St. John.

We have, then, this record of antagonism to the liquor traffic, as represented by recent vote of five States:—

Massachusetts	. . . . .	47 per cent.
Ohio	. . . . .	57 per cent.
Maine	. . . . .	75 per cent.
Kansas	. . . . .	52 per cent.
Iowa	. . . . .	55 per cent.

In all these States the said vote was on a distinct issue, mainly, if not en-

tirely, free from every question of party candidacy, and it must be accepted as the voice of the people.

In the November election Mr. St. John received only 150,633 votes out of 10,045,244, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of all the votes cast. Allowing, as has been carefully estimated, that about 40 per cent of those who voted for Mr. St. John, like Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, had no sympathy with his prohibition ideas, but voted for him because they were unwilling to vote for either of the other candidates, and the purely prohibition vote would not much exceed 90,000, or less than 1 per cent of all the ballots cast, and this after more than fifteen years of effort to build up a party. During the campaign, ardent "Third Party" leaders predicted much larger numbers, ranging from 500,000 to 1,250,000. Twelve years after the Liberty Party started, Hon. John P. Hale received about 5 per cent of all the votes cast.

The moral impression of the St. John vote, cast as the "Prohibition vote," is bad, and it has greatly emboldened the liquor party. "A forlorn hope is scouted." The temperance army is really a great host. Probably several million of voters believe in prohibition, though they do not believe in partisan temperance.

One of the ablest divines in America, in a personal letter to us, says: "My own notion is, that there is no other way than to so hold the balance of power in the hands of Prohibition men, as to cast it in favor of the *individual men* who serve the States in their Legislatures, and who will sustain prohibition measures, both there and at home. But experience has shown that many temperance men will not work in that way. As soon as they accrete a little influence and moderate numbers, off they bolt into a distinctive party of their own, and then they lose their influence with all parties, and become a cipher in public affairs. The result is, in that case, the Liquor interest manages all the other parties, and but little is done."

Said another strong writer :\* "There can be only two great national parties in the country, one or the other of which will have the control of public affairs. A *Third Party*, if attempted, must necessarily be narrow in the range of its purposes, and also temporary as to its continuance, and, usually, local in its extent. It must ignore all public interests except its own specialty, which the great body of the citizens will not do, and ought not. No party based on any single issue ever achieved success at a general election ; and, from the necessities of the

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\* *Methodist Review* (editorial), March, 1885, p. 278.

case, it cannot be done. It may operate as a disturbing force and a menace, and by compelling one or both of the great parties to grant its claim it may achieve success at second-hand. But to withdraw from both the parties those who favor some specific changes, would be to render them powerless in the contest, and to reduce that element in the body politic to zero."

Consider another fact. The Prohibition Party has been in existence in some States well nigh twenty years, and it is nearly sixteen years since the first *National Prohibition Convention* assembled; but not a single law has been secured through any "Third Party" movement, nor has it prevented the repeal of Maine laws during that time. On the other hand, it has been a hindrance to radical legislation in many instances. The local option prohibitory laws in the South, in Georgia, Alabama, Maryland, etc., etc., have been obtained without the help, shall I not rather say, without the hindrance, of the "Third Party," the people going to the polls and voting without the embarrassments incident to partisanship.

5. *The political temperance party inflicts a great injury upon the work of reform, by infecting it with a bitter partisan spirit.*

In an able address, last September, Dr. L. C. Gunn, of California, said: "Like any other political party, it engages in a strife for supremacy, and this strife fosters a partisan spirit. Other parties must be belittled, this must be extolled. Eyes are wide open to see any evil, but closed to see any good in them; the same eyes are wide open to see good, and closed to see evil in it. Facts are exaggerated on the one side; facts are suppressed on the other side. Suspicions are listened to and harbored, and even published to damage. There is a hunting for evil motives. The worst construction is put upon acts which admit of a different and better understanding; and characters are defamed by insinuation, if not by direct slander. Anything to destroy the party and the men who oppose this party. Strange that good people are ever led into the indulgence of such a spirit; but poor human nature is very weak. When it embarks upon a party current it drifts unconsciously, or, if conscious, it is seldom able to resist the flow of the current, which is to extreme partisanship. In political contests this is very generally the case; and the speaker or editor, on either side, who does not drift into partisanship more or less unscrupulous, soon becomes noted for this exceptional character. It is not strange, therefore, that some editors and representatives of the Prohibition Party have developed into extreme partisans, dogmatical in style, unscrupulous in

assertions, discourteous to those who differ from them, distorters of facts, suppressors of truth, suspicious without cause, detractors of character, and unjust to opposing parties and candidates. It is not strange that even the most conspicuous advocates, as well as a large following in the membership of the party, exhibit more or less of this spirit. It is no easy matter to know one's self, or to see ourselves as others see us."

In the editorial columns of a paper conducted by Christian women, citizens of the highest respectability, of eminent station, and foremost in good works for long years, were called "simples" and "parasites," because they interposed against "Third Party" action. What painful alienations have occurred between those who have long counseled for the suppression of the liquor traffic. How can they longer walk and work together, when motives are impugned, characters assailed, and well-directed labors for years thwarted. How sad, too, the effect of these things on persons outside of temperance ranks, impairing confidence in reformers, and repelling from temperance work many who might otherwise become enlisted.

6. *A separate political temperance party occasions, what no true reform can afford to suffer, a great waste of power and loss of opportunity.*

Dr. Gunn says: "A Prohibition Party also injures the temperance cause *by withdrawing from the two great parties a leavening influence that is genial, and substituting for it a spirit of antagonism.*" All the members of the Prohibition party were formerly useful members of the other parties, and were educators of those parties, by their example and their doctrine, gradually moulding them in favor of wise temperance legislation. They were thus enabled to secure every law that has been passed. If the Prohibitionists had previously withdrawn from their respective parties, there would have been no such legislation. A useful man within a party can easily influence legislators elected by his party; but if he severs his connection, he severs his influence. The Gospel proverb says, "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." The Prohibition Party theory is, "Take away the leaven from the lump, and place it in a jar by itself."

Such a course can only provoke active opposition on the part of many who have been indifferent, and others who were almost ready to join our ranks. It is clear that, if the liquor traffic is to be suppressed, the great mass of the voters in the two great parties will be needed. How can they be won—by withdrawing from their fellowship, and an-

tagonizing them upon other issues dear to them? Or, rather, should not temperance workers take a deep interest in other political and social issues in which the people are interested, the settlement of which may prepare the way for a calm consideration of the liquor traffic?

*7. The unwisdom of the political Prohibition Party, considered as a measure of reform, should not be overlooked.*

The folly of the partisan Prohibitionists is conspicuous, as seen in the light of what the liquor-dealers are doing. They do not detach themselves from the great parties, and organize a separate party, but remain in their old relations, and concentrate upon such candidates in the existing parties as will be most favorable to their cause. Though they are few compared with the whole number of voters, they magnify their importance, and make themselves felt and feared. That is the way the temperance people in the South, in the Democratic States, are doing. They raise no partisan issues, but concentrate their votes. Temperance has never been put into the platform of the parties in the South.

A letter from the Hon. R. B. Archibald, of Jacksonville, Fla., very clearly sets forth the views of Southern temperance men. Judge Archibald is an acknowledged temperance leader in the South. He was the champion of the Local Option law, passed about two years ago, under which that State is making long strides toward entire prohibition, and has a general knowledge of the political status throughout the entire South. He writes:—

“The question of carrying the temperance issue into politics, was discussed at a convention held at Palatka, on July 4th last, and it was almost unanimously decided that the cause could be better advanced by not making it a party question. I am perfectly satisfied, as a temperance man, of the wisdom of the position thus taken. In this State we have many strong temperance men in both political parties. The temperance sentiment has been rapidly spreading, mainly because of the fact that men of both parties could join the temperance ranks without leaving their respective political parties, and without any sacrifice of party principles. From what I have already said, you will naturally infer (which is the fact) that Republicans among the temperance men here will vote for Blaine and Logan, while the Democratic element will, to a man, vote for Cleveland and Hendricks. “From all I can learn on the subject this will be true of all, or nearly all, of the Southern States. The temperance question will not have the slightest influence in breaking up the ‘solid South.’”

How much more sagacious are the liquor dealers than partisan Pro-

hibitionists,—reminding us of the language of the Saviour, “The children of this world are wiser than the children of light.”

All the prohibitory or Maine laws enacted about thirty years ago, were gained without the aid of any separate political organization, but through the great parties organized upon other issues. It was the work of earnest men and women who, for years, had appealed to the hearts and consciences of the people, advancing public sentiment to the point that the Legislatures were obliged to enact prohibitory laws. There was no partisan complication or antagonism to embarrass the work; but the temperance measures were passed as other measures are. The friends of these measures did not neglect the primary meetings, but attended them in such force that they were respected, and candidates were selected favorable to prohibitory legislation. The leaders in the parties were glad to please them. They represented a wide, strong, active, controlling sentiment.

Ignoring such obviously reasonable methods, the political Prohibition Party divides the temperance strength into factions, neutralizing each other. They say they will vote only for those who support the men they nominate, and so run distinct tickets. In numberless cases this course, by dividing the temperance vote, has elected liquor candidates. Do you say all temperance men should vote for the nominees of the Prohibition Party; then there will be no division? But must we follow the bidding of any handful of men who go off into a party they are pleased to organize on some single issue, and disregard other important issues, to suit a Third-Party whim? That kind of policy is likely to put back the temperance cause.

8. *“Those who favor the organization of a political Prohibition Party, with the required agencies and appliances, and the necessary expenditure of money for carrying on a campaign, seem not to duly appreciate the greatness of the undertaking.”*

“It is not an extravagant estimate that puts down a million of dollars as the aggregate expenditure of each of the parties at the last election; probably twice that amount would not cover all the direct and indirect outlays and expenditures in various forms. Who, then, may be relied on for such contributions to the Prohibition Party?—and, without money, and a large amount of it, too, a political campaign cannot be successfully conducted, even in so good a cause as that of prohibition. Good and true men will give their own votes without other compensation than the sense of a duty performed; but beyond that their services must be paid for, which is all right. In the great parties the payments and contribu-

tions are expected to be compensated by political preferments, not entirely disregarding the profits of official jobbery. Will these motives prove effective in the new party? and if so, will there not be danger of jobbery there, also? Evidently, the formation of a great national party, based upon the single idea of prohibition, to be organized and engineered so as to give even the most distant assurances of success, is simply impracticable, and also undesirable. The attempt, if made, would only result in impotent endeavors and abortive struggles, assuring their own defeat, while the party itself would be made the retreat of cranks, and visionaries, and of hopelessly unsuccessful aspirants for place—the rejected material of the other parties.”\*

### III. Non-partisan Temperance Effort Vindicated.

#### OBJECTION I.

*Is it said that the temperance cause has “received only meager help from the leading political parties,” that “it has been cheated and outwitted by the politicians times without number,” and that “in most of the States the managers of the great parties are hostile to the temperance reform,” whatever they may sometimes say?*

There is, doubtless, both truth and a lack of truth in the foregoing allegations. Party managers sometimes come to the front who do not properly represent the large masses in the parties. Nevertheless, parties must stand or fall by the record they make; no apologies can help them. It is no part of our purpose to either shield or vindicate any party.

Rev. Joseph Cook, in his recent Prelude (February 16th), says, “The general outlook of the temperance cause in current politics is so dark that we have a right to raise this question”—*i. e.*, of a Third Party. He then proceeds to arraign the political parties for their disregard of the temperance cause, in their platforms, etc. Whoever will look through the fourteen reasons he gives for a “Third Party,” will see that they all turn upon two points:—

First, he proceeds upon the implication that it is only recently that the parties have become unfaithful to the temperance cause, and hence they must be chastised, and supplanted by another party. But when did any party, as such, take any action in favor of temperance, if we except two or three instances in rural States? In these cases the parties

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\* Rev. D. Curry, D.D., LL.D., in the *Methodist Review*, March, 1885, pp. 279, 280.



only expressed a willingness to let the people settle the question of constitutional prohibition by popular vote. Such action did not commit the parties to any radical principle of temperance. There is much talk about what the Republican Party has done for temperance in the North, and what the Democratic Party has done for it in the South. But this is not a correct statement of the case. Large numbers of Republican voters in the North, and large numbers of Democratic voters in the South, have favored radical temperance legislation, but in no instance have these *parties*, in their *platforms, or in any organic form*, with the exceptions already referred to, done anything for radical temperance legislation. Neither in the period when the Maine laws were enacted, thirty years ago, nor in their repeal, nor in any other temperance legislation, has there been *party* action.

It is sometimes said that the Democratic Party enacted the prohibitory law in Maine, and the Republican party repealed it. The true statement of the case is, that the majority of the legislature that enacted it were Democrats, the majority of the legislature that repealed it were Republicans; but, in neither case, was prohibition a party measure. Members of the legislatures were chosen in the local elections, on the prohibitory issue, irrespective of party, and voted in the legislature irrespective of party. The people were alive on the question, and selected men who represented their ideas, and would embody them in statutes. What was done was not done in any organic way, as parties. The offense, then, of neglecting this issue is not a new one.

Is it because it is an old offense that the complaint is now made? Is it high time to rectify the evil? First, consider that *all the progress ever made in temperance legislation has been made without partisan action*; that the Third Party, after about sixteen years of existence, has never put a temperance law on our statute-books; and that the question of advanced temperance legislation has never been so complicated, embarrassed, and hindered, as since it has been brought into the antagonisms and prejudices of partisan strifes, by Third-Party action. Just before the Third Party arose, the "P. L. L.\* legislature," in 1868, repealed the Maine law in Massachusetts. But there was at that time sufficient prohibition sentiment in Massachusetts to promptly restore the law the next year. Since the Third Party became active in the State the prohibitory law has

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\* A legislature elected that year by the secret operations of Personal Liberty Leagues, extending all through the State, manipulated so cunningly by the liquor fraternity, that many good citizens were scarcely aware of what was going on, and were misled.

been repealed, and it has been impossible to secure its re-enactment, though many times attempted. The same is true in other States. Separate temperance tickets, running in opposition to each other in representative and senatorial districts, have often defeated the election of prohibitory men. A dividing, repellant spirit, with the prejudices and irritations incident to partisan strifes, and the reactive loss of confidence and of interest, which such things produce in many minds, have caused a weakening of strength, and hindered progress.

The second point upon which Mr. Cook's reasons turn, is the mistaken efficacy of partisan action. We cannot resist the conviction that there have been too great expectations as to what might come through the parties, and the attention of the friends of the reform has been thereby too much diverted from the best channels of work. The feeling of responsibility has thus been shifted from the individual, its proper point of bearing, to the parties. It has come to be a grave question whether, in the present condition of the case, with the low average sentiment on the subject of temperance among the politicians, the matter of obtaining the indorsement of political conventions in favor of advanced liquor legislation should not be reconsidered, and held in abeyance. What will be the effect on the politicians? Let them take care of themselves. We are only concerned for the cause of temperance. Besides, what party conventions do has less influence than formerly. On this point there are several considerations which weigh heavily with us.

(1.) The planks of party platforms are now so deftly shaped that they have come to have little significance and value—sometimes mere make-shifts, the effect of catering to supposed popular sentiments.

(2.) Many legislators and administrators of law refuse to be governed by the platform of their party, giving more heed to the sentiments of their *constituents*, which vary greatly, in different localities, even in the same State. After the New York State Republican Convention, in 1883, declared in its platform in favor of submitting the Constitutional Prohibitory Amendment to the people, some members freely said that, if they were elected to the approaching legislature, they should not be governed by the action of the convention, but by the wishes of their local constituency. These things are most apparent in States which have large cities. It is a well-known fact that legislators and administrators of law elected from rural communities are much more likely to be favorable to the enactment and enforcement of stringent temperance laws than those elected from large cities, and that, therefore, the same political party will often have two different classes voting opposite ways, on questions of temperance, in the same legislature. The party platform

alone, cannot be relied upon to secure uniform action upon matters in reference to which the desires of constituencies greatly differ in the larger and the smaller communities.

(3.) Even if fealty to party should be strong enough to secure uniform action among all the supporters of any party, still the legislation desired, if obtained, would be due to the principle of devotion to party rather than to moral convictions; and, therefore, such action would afford a very insecure and fickle basis of reform. All thus gained would be liable to be lost in the first political revulsion. Besides, police, juries, and courts are composed of men of all parties, many of whom will obstruct and often defeat the administration of laws obnoxious to their party, simply because they are partisan measures. When the Maine laws were first enacted, for a time they were well executed, and produced great changes in many localities, and in the State at large, so cordial and strong was the prevailing sentiment in their favor, not having been enacted as party measures. It was simply a question of rum or no rum which overrode all party lines among the people.

(4.) It is very plain that if any party could be coerced by threats or otherwise into the adoption of prohibition in its platform, that action would be of little value—no better than a rope of sand.

(5.) Nothing can be clearer than that our first and most important work is with the individual. In such a Government as ours, it is a vital inquiry, How can the individual citizens be made cohesive and united upon common interests. The answer is, by being made homogeneous in sentiment. A heterogeneous people can never be relied upon. Citizens must be assimilated to each other by common ideas and convictions. When the individual citizens are pervaded with the conviction of total abstinence and prohibition, they will be homogeneous in feeling and action, in local administration, in the courts, and in the election of legislators. Thus we shall build strongly on a good foundation, and not trust to the fickle fortunes of partisanship some of the most important and precious interests of society. But in vain shall we look for homogeneous temperance action in parties, nations, or communities until homogeneous sentiments pervade the individuals of the party, State, and community. When we have reached such a condition, then parties on this question will be of little account. We shall not fear them, nor will they even be our servants, for we shall be beyond depending upon them. The cause of temperance will then be secure, for it will be in the hearts of the people. Total abstinence, prohibition, and its enforcement, will then mean much more than party platforms or *statutes*. *We shall then no longer scold about the timidity, the guile,*

the fickleness of politicians, or their dodging of moral issues. These are the reasons why the friends of temperance should be warned against being misled by anticipations of speedy party action. It will only divert attention from what is now more important—educating and preparing the hearts of the people to throw off this great evil, in their individual and social relations. Last August, I repeatedly said: “As to what shall be the immediate political outcome, that is the least of my present concern. I am more anxious to build up and strengthen public sentiment; for if it were possible to put a prohibitory law on the statute-books of many of the States, in the present low and inactive condition of public sentiment, it would be inoperative—a failure. Let us lift the people up to a condition where they will maintain total abstinence and prohibition.”

What is wanted is not a political temperance party, but a strong public sentiment for the suppression of the liquor saloons. The dominant public sentiment will be practically the law in the case. No party can rise above it, nor can any party overthrow it. The minority can never establish and maintain a policy against the judgment of the majority. Only by a leavening of ideas can such changes be made.

There are cheering indications that public sentiment in favor of total abstinence and prohibition is rapidly spreading in various sections, more rapidly even than ever before. This is true in portions of the South and West, but it is being advanced there by non-partisan methods; and we have strong hope that the temperance sentiment in these localities, and in many others also, where it now lies in a low condition, will speedily become so vigorous and intelligent, that before long prohibition can be carried and enforced. This is what all of us are working for, and hoping for, and every partial success is an encouragement and a joy. It is our prayer that these promising monuments may not be frustrated by bitter partisan action.

#### OBJECTION 2.

*But it is claimed that “prohibition can never succeed until it is the platform of a party organized and maintained for this very end.”* Prof. Bascomb, of Wisconsin, the ablest advocate of this view, says: “Prohibition, to be successful, must have political power; and to have political power, it must be supported by a party devoted to it—a party perfectly able to endure defeat, a party with a solid center held together by deep conviction, by sound judgment, and an active conscience.” Prof. Bascomb also says there are two purposes to be subserved by a party—“to give victory to an idea, and to sustain it and carry it forward in application.”

He reviews the history of the Maine laws, wherever enacted, and of later prohibitory laws, and thinks he discovers the cause of their relative inefficiency and failure, to be the want of a party behind them, to support and enforce them. He unfolds his argument with remarkable ability and skill, and it has doubtless been accepted by many as satisfactory and unanswerable. But there are fatal fallacies running through his entire discussion.

He says the Maine laws enacted thirty years ago, and since repealed, illustrate this need of party support. But why did those laws fail? Our understanding of the case is, that the laws, when enacted, went to the extreme verge of public sentiment; that during the engrossing agitations which brought on the war, and were incident to its progress, attention was diverted from those laws. The plea was often made, "Drop all issues which may divide the people, and concentrate upon preserving the nation's life." There was, therefore, for a time, little enforcement of the liquor laws. When the war was over, the terrible moral results of the *post bellum* period were experienced, and there was an attempt to re-enforce the law against the liquor traffic, as a means of diminishing the flood of evil. Then it was found that during the period in which the friends of the Maine laws had "slept, the enemy had sowed tares." The attempt at enforcement met with a stern rebound. Public sentiment had fallen far below what it was when the laws were enacted. National topics had become so engrossing, that there were few temperance lectures and sermons during many of those years, from 1856-1866. One after another, the Maine laws were repealed. No party could have kept them on the statute-books, or enforced them, for they were no longer in the hearts of the people. The maintenance of a law does not depend so much upon the action of a party as the condition of the people. Parties will not rise above the people. The party manipulators are like the hands on a clock moved as the people move them.

Besides, to commit such a matter as the suppression of intemperance to the fortunes of a party, with its alternations of success and defeat, its prejudices and antagonisms, and to tie it up with other issues to which the party is wedded, is a course too palpably unwise and too perilous to the best interests of reform, to be seriously entertained.

Prof. Bascomb says: "The State, from top to bottom, must be officered in reference to the vigorous use of the law in the protection of the State; and this handling of the law must be brought to that degree of efficiency which justifies the theory of prohibition, and makes its practice comparatively easy. A party that passes a prohibitory law must *also elect the officers, from the judge to the justice of the peace, from*

governors to mayors, aldermen, and policemen, into whose hands the law is to be committed. Unless the ordinary machinery for executing laws is on the side of those laws, they will never receive uniform and sufficient enforcement."

Very fine in theory, viewed from the standpoint of the study or the lecture-room; but a few facts tumble the theory. It is an unnecessary, and, commonly, an impossible idea. Officer a State with good temperance men of various parties, and it will be just as effective a course for our purpose, and far more feasible than the Professor's impracticable plan of having them all of one party, and all other parties antagonizing them. Cannot the Professor see how impracticable his theory is, and how fickle and perilous such a one-party basis would be on which to rest great interests, so broadly affecting society? How much better to work up public sentiment more broadly among all classes, without partisan bias and jealousies, until the popular heart shall demand the protection of the home.

Where is the State, especially if it has any large cities, which is "officered from top to bottom," or can be so officered, by any party in the ascendancy? The State of New York has large cities almost continuously Democratic, while the State officers are sometimes Republicans and sometimes Democrats. Chicago is generally under one party, while the State of Illinois is under another. Massachusetts has a number of cities under partisans of one class, while the State is under another. In these States the variations are generally the election of Citizen's tickets, of no particular party. Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and other States very often change their dominant parties, and will be likely to do so under any conditions. How is it possible ever to realize, in actual life, Prof. Bascomb's ideal theory of "officering a State from top to bottom," and holding it thus as he says is necessary, for a "dozen or a score of years," until prohibitory liquor laws rigidly applied "will have the popularity and ease of administration of other forms of law?" It is a beautiful theory. We do not wonder that some are attracted toward it; but, really, we cannot see the practicability of building up such a party. It is an ideal speculation, like Plato's Ideal Republic.

It is clear that such a condition of the legal suppression of the liquor traffic, for which we all hope and toil, and which our children will doubtless see, even if we "die without the sight," can never be achieved on any one party line of action. The conditions involved are too many and too broad. Such laws must have a wider hold upon the public heart, and must be removed as far as possible from the domain of need-

less disputes, jealousies, and ambitions. The contest with appetite, lust, and capital will inevitably go on. Why multiply our antagonists and alienate our friends?

Prohibiting laws have indeed "grievously suffered," as Prof. Bascomb says, "from the want of recognition by political parties and constituted authorities;" but we should try to appreciate the situation, for often the constituted authorities do all that the condition of public sentiment will let them do. In a town of four or five thousand inhabitants, in a State that has one of the best prohibitory laws, and a town quite removed from the influence of large cities, the enforcement of the liquor law, however wisely and firmly done, is sure to change the town officers the following year. This is only one of many similar cases. The parties and authorities have suffered from the inadequate condition of public sentiment, and are likely to continue to suffer until more educational work is done. This Prof. Bascomb virtually acknowledges, when he speaks of some "towns in which private sentiment is vigorous enough, and bold enough, to assume the duty of enforcement." In Massachusetts, after the war, in the attempt to enforce the liquor law, which had suffered neglect for a season, an effort was made to officer the State somewhat after the manner indicated by Prof. Bascomb, "from top to bottom," with reference to the enforcement of the law. A State constabulary was appointed, bringing the enforcement of prohibition directly under the control of the State authorities; but it was a sad and conspicuous failure. The Professor says, "No party was at hand either to sustain the law or the servants of the law." Why not? The answer is ready: Prohibition had declined in the hearts of the people. Had the same condition of sentiment remained that existed in 1850-'56, the State constabulary would have been sustained by the people. Is it said that "the responsibility rests upon the police, not upon private citizens, to spy out violators of temperance laws"? But the police will not go far beyond popular support.

### OBJECTION 3.

*It is claimed that the object is to build up a "National Prohibition Party," to enact and enforce prohibition.*

We reply, that the only place where such a party can enact and enforce prohibition, is in the District of Columbia and in the Territories; and that beyond these, the determining of revenue taxes on liquor, some slight control of inter-state trade, and the question of importation of liquors, is all. But who believes that the importation of liquors, *which is now at a minimum* as compared with some former periods, very

much enters into the question of temperance? or the inter-state commerce, a matter requiring the extremest care in interference? or the internal revenue tax on distilled liquors, which gives no color of authority to sell, and which will evidently make no difference as to how much those who love it will drink, whether the tax is one dollar, or twenty-five cents, or nothing, per gallon? It is useless to try to magnify these points before any man of common sense. The idea that it is necessary or desirable to have a National Prohibition Party for these purposes is weak and absurd; and as to the Territories, they very largely control their own legislation, and can shut out the liquor traffic if they will; and as for the District of Columbia, the case is bad enough, and urgent enough, as we humiliatingly confess, but the condition may be sooner reached and improved by electing to Congress men of the right character, of whatever party, than by waiting for a National Temperance Party. In this way, too, the improvement gained will be upon a more stable basis, not subjected to the shifting fortunes of a party.

But great expectations seem to be cherished by the "Third Party" advocates, based upon what a Prohibition President could do. They forget that the police power is in the States, entirely foreign to the President and Vice-President. The President cannot enforce any policy of his own until it has been enacted by Congress. We have no national prohibition law for him to sign or enforce, and are not likely to have until we get prohibition in three fourths of the States, which is evidently in the far future. Nor can Congress or the President exercise police power over the internal affairs of the States which they have reserved to themselves; and the Vice-President has nothing to do in either making or enforcing laws, except that he may "unloose a chance tie-vote in the Senate." What sense is there in swearing these high officials to enforce a national prohibition law which does not exist, and which Congress has no power to enact?

#### OBJECTION 4.

##### *The absurd Liberty Party analogy.*

The advocates of a political temperance party say that their object is to lay the foundations of a great political anti-liquor party, which will eventually succeed, as in the case of the Liberty Party. We are often told that "the Liberty Party had a feeble beginning; but after a score of years Lincoln was elected, and slavery was abolished." These things are all true as isolated statements, but they are put in wrong relations to each other. It would be about as consistent to say that



Methuselah was drowned in Noah's flood, by an act of the British Parliament, because the Parliament adopted App. Usher's Chronology, according to which the death of Methuselah occurred in the year of the flood. Lincoln was not elected by the Liberty Party, nor was slavery abolished by it. This is a case of mistaken analogy.

Last October, Rev. Dr. Armitage, of New York, said: "It is just here that the folly of the movement lies. Analogies are always dangerous for precedents. But here there is no analogy, either in the evil to be removed, its field of operations, the methods of attack upon it, or the proposed means for its removal. There is a wide contrast in all these respects, but little likeness. The victims of slavery stood before the law as goods and chattels—mere property, to be bought and sold at the will of their owners. The victim of drunkenness stands before the law on a legal parity with all other citizens. He is his own slave, and that not by law, but by his own will. Again, slavery was hemmed in geographically, by Mason and Dixon's line; . . . but the liquor traffic has no local habitation within any line, North or South. . . . Congress could not, and did not, touch slavery where it existed until Secession drew the sword, and it was destroyed as a war measure."

The analogy overlooks many phases of the case. Many persons have mixed views of the matter, and do not discriminate. There has been so much wholesale ranting about Garrison and the Liberty Party, and what came out of their movements, that it is time the case was reviewed. There was, first, the old Garrisonian Party, which discarded the Church and State as in league with hell, and refused any political action under the Constitution of the United States, because, as they contended, it upheld slavery. In this party were Garrison, Phillips, C. C. Burleigh, Edmund Quincy, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. Foster, Abby Kelly Foster, Samuel J. May, and other radical Abolitionists.

Then came the Liberty Party, not formed out of the Garrison Party, nor in any way countenanced by it, but rather denounced by the Garrison Party for acting, as they claimed, under a "pro-slavery constitution." In this party were Messrs. Birney, Alvan Stuart, William Goodell, Pierpont, Holley, Gerrit Smith, Thomas Earle, and, after 1841, Salmon P. Chase, etc. Hon. Henry Wilson records the disappointment of Mr. Chase at the slow growth of the party, and says: "The Liberty Party contained within itself the seeds, if not of its own dissolution, at least of dissensions and divisions.

Next came the Free-Soil Party, but not formed out of the Liberty Party. The Liberty Party disbanded, and most of its members joined the Free-Soil Party; but they were a small part of it. Some, however,

refused to join the Free-Soil Party, because the platform of principles was not radical enough. These formed the "Liberty League."

Only one of the Liberty Party was conspicuous in forming the Free-Soil Party; viz., Hon. Salmon P. Chase. But the foremost men in forming this party—Van Buren, Charles Francis Adams, Henry Wilson, Joshua R. Giddings, Charles Sumner, Horace Mann, John P. Hale, etc.—never belonged to the Liberty Party. Though as early as 1842, Mr. Giddings was censured in Congress for his radical anti-slavery utterances, yet he never joined the Liberty Party. He voted for Henry Clay in 1844. Some of the Liberty Party men refused to vote for Horace Mann, because he held on to the Whig Party.

The Free-Soil Party was first organized by Democrats, under the name of "Free Democracy." A large number of Whigs also joined it. Many of Mr. Van Buren's personal and political sympathizers, who were a great multitude, joined it.

Nor was the Republican Party formed out of the Free-Soil Party, with only a change of name, as many seem to suppose. It was an entirely new organization. The Free-Soil Party declined from 1848 to 1852, in the latter campaign polling only a little more than half as many votes as in 1848.

The votes were as follows:—

In 1840, Birney . . . . .	7,059
" 1844, " . . . . .	62,300
" 1848, Van Buren . . . . .	290,263
" 1852, Hale . . . . .	156,149

Then followed numerous new political divisions and combinations. The Whig Party broke up; the Know-Nothing cyclone passed over the country; and there were Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, Anti-Slavery Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Anti-Slavery Know-Nothings. Of these varied elements coalitions were formed in many States, and then they were mostly combined in the Republican Party. The great mass of the Republican Party in 1856–1860 were formerly Whigs, the Free-Soil elements were a small part of it; it grew out of a larger movement independent of anything done by the Free-Soil Party, for the first vote of the Republican Party, in 1856, was 1,341,264—nine times as great as the Free-Soil vote in 1852.

Consider, too, the differences in the platforms. The Garrisonians contended for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of slavery, and would hear to nothing else; but they discarded all political action, because they regarded the Constitution as upholding slavery. The

Liberty Party were radical Abolitionists, and held that slavery must be abolished where it existed, but that the political power of slavery must be met by political action. The Free-Soil Party contended that the policy of the country must be "not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage, slavery." Their cry was, "We must have no more slave States and no more slave territory." This was a great modification of the Garrisonian and Liberty Party platforms; therefore, in 1848, a portion of the Liberty Party refused to join the Free-Soil Party, and formed themselves into the "Liberty League," among whom were Beriah Green, Fred. Douglass, Gerrit Smith, Elizui Wright, etc. They nominated Gerrit Smith for President. These men discarded expediency, and contented themselves with asserting an abstract right. Contending that God is the majority, they said, "Duty is ours; results are God's." This party soon disappeared altogether, many of them falling back into the Garrison ranks.

The leading thesis of the Republican Party was the non-extension of slavery; but it also took up some of the principles of the Whig Party,—as, for instance, the tariff,—and it also contended for a reform in the administration of the Government. The abolition of slavery within the several States by Government action was never contemplated. If those States had not seceded, there would have been no change in their institutions except as made by themselves. It was not the Garrisonian Party, nor the Liberty Party, nor the Free-Soil Party, nor the Republican Party, in a political capacity, that brought about emancipation. Everybody understands that slavery was abolished as a "*dernier* war measure."

It has been well said:\* "So far from the political organization known as the Liberty Party producing this result, it was scarcely thought of during those contests waged in Congress. The giants in that struggle were, until the formation of the Republican Party, either Whigs or Democrats, Free-Soil Whigs or Free-Soil Democrats. None were elected by the Liberty Party, none by the Free-Soil Party, as such. Thomas H. Benton, Hannibal Hamlin, David Wilmot, were elected as Democrats, occupied their seats as Democrats, and spoke for freedom as Democrats. John Quincy Adams, Joshua R. Giddings, Thomas Corwin, Thaddeus Stevens, William H. Seward, William P. Fessenden, were elected as Whigs, occupied their seats as Whigs, and spoke for freedom as Whigs. Had these men joined the Third-Party movement in their day, they would not have been elected, and their influence with

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\* By Dr. L. C. Gunn, of California, to whose able address the author is indebted.

the two great parties to which they belonged, and by which they were enabled to lead their constituencies over into the Republican Party when it was organized, would have been lost."

Hon. Wm. H. Seward was repeatedly urged to join the Free-Soil Party; but he always answered, "No; I can do more good for the cause by remaining where I am." What argument, then, does the history of the anti-slavery struggle afford for a distinct Prohibition Political Party? None whatever. In non-partisan societies, the Abolitionists wrote, lectured, and agitated. They did no more after they joined the Liberty Party; and they would have continued to do the same if no party had been formed. They made no more speeches; nor did they add to their power; nor did the formation of a separate party increase the quantity or improve the quality of the literature beyond what it would have been if no party had been formed. But the quality of the literature, considered as a reform literature, deteriorated, because it had a partisan taint, became bitter and denunciatory. Those who lived in that period will remember that they were not influenced in their action through the party, but through *events and influences outside of it*. Only a small proportion of the anti-slavery voters, as we have seen, ever gave the Liberty Party their support.

So it is sure to be now. There will be no real total abstinence or prohibitory sentiment made through the Prohibitory Party, that would not have been made by these same reformers laboring outside of party lines. On the other hand, they will certainly exert less influence, because their advocacy will be prejudiced and crippled by partisanship, and their influence will be curtailed. The liquor dealers are shrewd enough to see that henceforth, for a season, the temperance cause is to be enfeebled, obstructed, and weighed down by the bitterness, the prejudices, and the antagonisms of partisan strife. Good men and women there are in that movement who are exempt from these charges, and who are broad enough to let no differences of opinions alienate them from other temperance workers who do not join them in partisan action.

If the advocates of political prohibition still insist upon an analogy between their party and the Liberty Party, they must allow that the Prohibition Party, before it can triumph, must undergo a transformation in name, and very great modifications in its platform. The Liberty Party, as we have seen, started with the purpose to abolish slavery in the States where it existed; but before slavery was abolished, the Liberty Party was succeeded by the Free-Soil Party, and then by the Republican Party—the platform of each being a very material modification of the preceding, in which every point in the old Abolition

platform was given up, except the non-extension of slavery. And, after all, slavery was abolished as a war measure. Those who press the analogy will see that, if it teaches anything, it is that the Prohibition Party, before it can succeed, must twice change its name, and modify its platform, from the radical ground of Prohibition to some lower ground of treatment of the liquor question; and even then achieve success only by *extra* legal measures—made necessary by the savage onslaught of the liquor power upon the Government. Are the “Third-Party” men prepared to admit the possibility of any such modification of their platform? If not, then they must abandon the analogy, and cease to ring changes upon it.

#### OBJECTION 5.

*A class of temperance agitators freely quote the language of the old anti-slavery agitators: “Do right, and leave the results;” “Act on principle, and let the consequences take care of themselves.”*

Such a code of morals ignores an obvious duty. We cannot determine what is duty unless we consider results, as well as theories. Moral responsibility forbids the ignoring of the inevitable consequences of our action under the fallacious plea that we are not responsible for the results. Our study of duty is not complete, until we have duly considered what will inevitably follow from the line of action we think of pursuing. “The citizen’s responsibility,” it has been well said, “includes the recognition of controllable results, and cannot stop at theories, however excellent.” It is a principle laid down in law, that “men are held responsible for the ordinary and probable results of their acts.” But impetuous agitators scorn to trouble themselves about such questions. They rush on heedlessly, and leave the steady, reliable supporters of the cause to bear the burden of their blunders. They are always bringing on needless conflicts, and hindering the general engagement.

Nor would we overlook the fact standing out prominently in the history of reforms, that the very earnestness of reformers tends to beget diversity of views as to methods of work. The greater the evil attacked the more difficult the development of quiet, methodical plans for its overthrow. Thoroughly aroused reformers, of intense temperaments, do not easily tolerate moderation in action, and sometimes will not allow sufficient deliberation to arrange a campaign. They would march and grapple at once with the enemy, without planning the contest. Impetuosity has characterized many reformers and occasioned many reverses or delays, while the troops in solid columns have supported and

saved the cause. Active reformers are restive under rigid discipline, although it is palpable that the sure consequence of non-discipline is weakness, scattering, and waste of power. Even scouts, pickets, deploys, minute-men, and reconnoissances are of little value without system and discipline.

It would be a happy thing if temperance workers could agree better in the details of their work ; but that is difficult for human nature, especially when aroused and intensified. Nor should unanimity be sought at the expense of earnestness. But let us not forget that our enemies count upon our differences.

In these discussions thus far, an important practical inquiry has constantly forced itself on our attention. Why thus belittle the question of suppressing the liquor traffic, and the principal underlying it, by linking it with measures which are powerless to reach vital action? Why build on such uncertain contingencies, and thus divert attention from practical work at our very elbows?

Our citizenship must be exercised where it will amount to something. It is for the State to say whether its people shall be debauched by liquor saloons ; whether crime, pauperism, and lunacy, with their corollaries, penitentiaries, poorhouses, and insane retreats shall be multiplied. Congress has never created the liquor traffic ; has never imposed it upon the States ; can never regulate it there, and cannot abolish it. It is a question for us, as citizens of the States, working each in our neighborhoods. It can be more quickly reached by individual action in each State than in any other way. These are the beginnings of true political power in the people, exercised by States ; and a stream cannot rise higher than its fountain. In the language of the *Toledo Blade*, "This fight will continue until the people are educated to look upon whiskey-drinking and whiskey-selling as the crimes that they are."

#### **IV. Non-partisan Solution of the Problem.**

We have now come to what we regard as

##### *The Fundamental Difficulty in the Temperance Problem,*

which the political Temperance Party does not solve, and which can be solved only by hard work along the lines of patient, practical reform, aided and supplemented by such legislation as may be secured in the successive stages of the upward progress. The sources of the difficulty, often referred to in the course of the previous discussion, will be now more fully opened.

During the past thirty years, and especially the twenty years, covering the *post bellum* period, there has been a serious weakening of public sentiment in respect to the more radical temperance principles. This is true, in large areas and masses, comprising the great centers of the population and points of great influence. While much advance has been made, largely in States not formerly so thoroughly pervaded by temperance efforts, it must be confessed that in other large portions there have been reverse movements. We have prohibitory States in which little is done, in the larger centers, to enforce the law. In one of these States, in some instances, from fifty to three hundred saloons ply their avocations without restraint, under one of the best prohibitory laws in the land. I refer to a State in which, some years ago, the prohibitory law was so fully enforced that there were no visible signs of the sale of liquors. In another State the enforcement of prohibition has perceptibly weakened in very considerable districts. In many rural towns in New York, in Massachusetts, and other Local Option States, which might be cited by name, thirty or forty saloons exist unmolested, notwithstanding the town voted "No license" and appropriated money for its enforcement. Enforcement is neglected, or administered weakly and spasmodically. What corrupt officials! What uncertain courts and juries! What timid citizens? The formation of a Law and Order League was a great public necessity, but is, nevertheless, a sad and painful confession of a low and gross condition of things. Let us ponder these things in our cities, in our towns, in our villages, at our doors, in our household. The great national parties are bad, very bad, but these parties are made up out of our cities, villages, and households. The blame we cast on the parties falls back to our doors, to ourselves.

What is the matter, after all? Let us pursue the inquiry, and content ourselves with no superficial diagnosis of the case. Several things have contributed to the weakening of public sentiment in regard to total abstinence during the last twenty-five or thirty years. The war was one, but not the chief cause. The high-water mark of total abstinence and prohibition gained at the time of the adoption of the Maine laws (1850-1856), was followed, as is not unusual in such moral advances, with a re-flow. Specious theories in regard to the moderate use of the milder liquors, under the advocacy and influence of some of the most eminent names in medical science and statesmanship, have been widely sifted into the public mind. Many in the intelligent and influential circles have adopted them, have ceased to be total abstainers, and scout total abstinence. The great beer invasion, under which, *since the year 1850*, the annual consumption of that beverage in the

United States has increased from thirty-seven million to nearly six hundred million of gallons, or from about 1.5 gallons to more than 10.5 gallons *per capita*, has been both a factor and an evidence of a widespread revulsion from total abstinence. There has been, also, a large increase in the manufacture and consumption of native wines. The large immigration of eight or ten million of people since 1850 — largely from countries not pervaded with temperance ideas and tutelage, coming with drinking-customs and appetites, and settling chiefly in our large centers of population and influence, and not easily reached by reform influences — at least for some time after their arrival — has also contributed to the deterioration of the average temperance habits of the country. It has obstructed legislation, and weakened the political parties. The frequent contact, by travel, of so many Americans with the drinking-customs of European countries not yet pervaded by the temperance reformation, has been another element entering into the case. These things have all helped to weaken the principle and habit of total abstinence among multitudes of our population; so that, as a whole, we have fallen to a condition below that from 1850–1856, when the Maine laws were enacted. But for the great work by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, by some of the Reform Clubs, and in the South and West, we should have been reduced to a far more deplorable condition; such has been the weakening of total abstinence sentiments and habits, painfully perceptible, in too many places of influence, culture, and power.

This weakening has had its effects on legislative and party politics. The principle of total abstinence is the basis of all the more radical laws which look for the suppression of the liquor traffic; and men who are weak at this point, whatever goodish words they may say to temperance workers, will be sure to disappoint us when advanced legislation against the liquor traffic is sought. They will slip away like loose sand beneath our feet. Ranting about prohibition will not cure this difficulty: the defect is deeper. We may scold, belabor, and denounce the politicians; but such conduct will not reach the trouble and cure it. Too many of our reformers are in such great hurry to achieve their results, that they are unwilling to measure the depth of the trouble, and work intelligently for its removal. Consider, for a moment, the palpable fact that the license system is germane to the theory of the use of the milder intoxicants — its logical sequence. We can never draw men from that system, nor secure the action of politicians on any line of policy opposed to it, until we succeed in building up a stronger total abstinence sentiment and practice among them. We must not yield our advanced theories, but keep the banner of *total suppression* flying, reiterate our



arguments for it, and press the contest. But we must not overlook the great work which underlies it. We must explode the beer humbug, expose the fallacy of the wine theory, demonstrate the sophistries of the theory of the utility of alcohol, the cosmic theory of intemperance, etc. This is a great work, requiring incessant toil, skill, and patience. This we must do if we would build the pyramid of our hopes from the base; and there is certainly no other way to build it. Ranting against politicians, and even talking our more advanced theories of legislation, can never succeed without this work at the foundation.

Nor should we overlook the work which must be done with our foreign population. We do not blame them for coming here, nor for their antecedent ideas and habits in regard to alcoholic beverages; but, centering so largely as they have done in our large cities, it is as clear as anything can be that, with the present and prospective preponderance of the city influence in most of our legislatures, if we are ever to be helped out in this great contest with alcohol, it is to be by the aid of our foreign populations. We can never gain the victory without their aid. This is certain. It is not by partisan political action that they can be reached. Their prejudices must be disarmed, and they must be instructed. It is a slow process. Measurably, many towns as well as cities are held back, at present, in the temperance reform, in liquor legislation, and the enforcement of liquor laws, by these masses, who have come among us with ideas, prejudices, and habits opposed to our advanced temperance principles. To attempt to coerce them, enforcing prohibitory legislation where they exist in dense masses with life-long ideas and habits so different, will not amount to much without some movements from among themselves, which will tend to produce better sentiments which will give an inward moral support to the laws. And yet, we must enforce the liquor laws, and they must learn obedience to the Government under which they have cast their lot. This will be difficult, however, and will for awhile yield meager results—until it is supplemented by instruction. This has been well inaugurated, and many prelates and priests of their faith are enlisted in the work. The movement slowly starts; may it accelerate. But it will require time; and, do the best we can, political prohibition must wait until the coming in of that tide. Denouncing the political parties will not help, but delay it. The difficulty is, that only a few of these adopted citizens hold total abstinence principles, and, hence, are not likely to favor prohibition.

We must not forget that the period in which the Maine laws were enacted in so many States (1850–1856), was preceded by about twenty

years of strong and thoroughly-argued total abstinence advocacy, with line upon line, here a little, and there a good deal. We had reached the condition of the best total abstinence practice ever known in the history of the American people as a whole. The Report of the National Temperance Society for 1854 says: "A year of most rapid progress in every department. Total abstinence is accepted as the only safe, wise, and righteous position upon which to build the individual life; while the sentiment of the nation is rapidly centering upon the doctrine of prohibition as the ultimate end and aim of all efforts in dealing with the drink traffic."

Total abstinence, and its logical sequence, prohibition, having been so strongly fixed in the hearts of the people, the latter went upon the statute books. It could not be kept off. When we get them again in the hearts of the people, prohibition will again go upon the statute books. No politicians can prevent it; and prohibition will then be worth something. It will be enforced, too, for the people will demand its enforcement, and will elect the right men to do it.

This is the sure solution of the political side of the temperance question. But to organize a political temperance party, and press its claims, in the present weak condition of temperance sentiment, over so large a part of the country, will only irritate, distract, divide, and hinder the advancement of this cause.

The law of demand and supply should not be overlooked, so surely does it control great movements. As long as the demand for liquors in society is so great, it must be difficult either to legislate for the suppression of the liquor traffic, or to enforce laws, if enacted. We must reduce the demand for intoxicants, by reforming the habits of the people. That is the way our fathers did, when they prepared the way for the Maine laws. By the great temperance agitations which so powerfully pervaded the country from 1826 to 1850, the *per capita* consumption of alcohol (reducing all kinds of liquors to the basis of pure alcohol), was diminished from five gallons, in the former period, to about two and one-fourth gallons at the latter date. Thus it was made possible to do by legislation at the latter period, what would have been impossible in 1825. We cannot be too deeply impressed with the thought that one fundamental necessity in this reform is, to reduce the demand for intoxicants, by intelligently establishing the people in the principle and practice of total abstinence. Political and legislative action for the suppression of the liquor traffic will surely follow.

It seems too palpable to be denied, that the suppression of the liquor traffic can never be brought about except by pressing it home to

the hearts of the people. It depends upon their moral education; and that education must be secured through efforts that are constant and unremitting. We must bring the people up, and lead them on.

It is a grave question in the opinion of many wise men, and even of some radical reformers, whether, after all, the question of temperance can be more than indirectly touched by law. Doubtless there is, in many cases, an over-dependence on law, and it is to be feared that it may be one of the vices of the age. We have a mass of unenforced statutes in all our States. Why? Not because they are antiquated in all cases, for many of them are of recent enactment. The trouble is, that the moral forces of the community do not sustain them. But it takes long, hard work to build up a reform from bottom lines, and many reformers are in too great haste for such patient work. It is easier to rant about law.

The enforcement of the liquor laws is one of the surest methods of advancing public sentiment. It tests and shows the weakness of inadequate statutes, and is the sure pathway to better legislation. The Law and Order Leagues are performing a beneficent work, and should be sustained by all order-loving people.

"While we recognize," says an able writer, "no limit to the breadth of the issue involved in the temperance reform, its actual progress must be step by step. Its work must begin and be maintained in the village, before it can hope for success in the State; and until it is well rooted and grounded in the State, it can make but little progress nationally. There are laws more inexorable than statutes, and the attempt to set aside the law of growth is not evidence of, or conducive to, strength. The foundations must first be made strong and enduring, even if we must wait a little for the superstructure. There are limits to the strength even of temperance workers, and I advise that our strength be applied where it will give actual net results, rather than in ventures whose promised and possible outcome is what will give no comfort to true reformers."

In an article in *The Independent*, March 12, 1885, Rev. T. L. Cuyler, D.D., gave some "Plain Talk on Temperance," in which he said: "The Temperance Reform is to-day in serious peril from . . . the absorption of its energies in a single direction. Personally, I have been an earnest advocate for legal restriction and (where possible) the entire suppression of the dramshop, ever since I first heard the word 'prohibition.'" Dr. Cuyler says he voted for Mr. St. John, because he *represented* "hostility to the Whiskey Oligarchy." Nevertheless, he *says*, "*But, as a Prohibitionist, I feel entirely confident that temperance*

reformers are committing a most serious error, in giving such excessive prominence to the civil and political aspects of the Reform.

"Set it down as an incontrovertible truth that liquor saloons are not the creations of license laws, or of any other civil enactments. (The original purpose of requiring a license, was to limit the number and curtail the mischief of dramshops.) Drinking-saloons do not owe their existence to a few lines on a statute book. No; nor are they to be entirely and permanently uprooted by simply enacting a few opposite lines on a statute book. If so, the problem would be very simple and manageable. The liquor traffic, whether it be conducted by the hogs-head or the gill, whether in the marble hotel or in the vilest cellar, is the creature of the drinking usages. To fight dramshops without any moral efforts to keep people from drinking intoxicants, would be as ridiculous folly as it would be to organize police forces and build jails, without ever teaching a human being that it is a crime to steal. The only way to reach an evil is to go to its fount-head. The fount-head of liquor selling is liquor drinking. Deeper down than any civil enactments—whether high license, low license, or no license—lie the *drinking usages*, and every remedy is transient and superficial that does not reach them. . . .

"The most effectual way to break up the liquor traffic is to get away its customers, and starve it out. Here lies the wisdom of creating counter attractions to the saloon, whether it be the attraction of home, or of a "coffee tavern," or anything else that tends to keep men or boys from the slaughter-houses. But it is certain as gravitation, that if any large number of persons in any community are *determined* to have intoxicants, they will somehow manage to get them, even if we pile our prohibitory laws as high as the Brooklyn Bridge towers. . . .

"By this time my readers will understand why—even as a Prohibitionist—I insist that it is fatal folly for us temperance reformers to direct our efforts entirely, or even chiefly, in the line of civil enactment or political action. Votes and laws are the product of human convictions of duty: neither votes nor laws are efficient without conscientious convictions behind them. To awaken, to solidify, and to maintain these convictions, is the sure key, and the only key, to permanent success in the great conflict against the bottle, whether that bottle stand on a private table or on the counter of a gin-shop. We must address ourselves, therefore, to the individual consciences of people, old and young, and ply them with arguments and persuasions to let the bottle alone. The best days the temperance movement ever saw were the days in which its chief effort was to make people conscientious ab-

stainers from every kind of intoxicants, to make them unwilling to enter a drinkshop, or to let the drink from the shop enter them. Fundamentally, the Temperance Reform is *not* a political movement; it is a grand moral and social reform, which only invokes the aid of civil law to accomplish its beneficent results."

We sincerely deprecate the fact that so many friends of temperance have given way to feelings of revulsion since the late national election; that many in late town and city elections who have hitherto voted for "no license," did not vote at all; that others allowed themselves to vote "for license;" and that others still have avowed their purpose to vote for license in coming elections. We say emphatically that we cannot sympathize with such action, and hope it will be seriously and speedily reconsidered, and that all the friends of reform will soon be found in line against the liquor traffic. Let us not evade the duty of increased vigilance and resolute action so incumbent upon all. Let none absurdly help the enemy, but continue to antagonize this malignant foe of our best interests, and prepare to meet future emergencies when they shall arise.

We have already repeatedly said that *all the legislation for the suppression of the liquor traffic thus far obtained, in the whole world, has been secured by non-partisan methods*—by agitations and movements coming directly out of the hearts of the people, free from the manipulations of scheming politicians. This fact should not be lost sight of in these days, when the partisan-phobia is tainting the minds of some temperance workers. A survey of the present advances in temperance legislation affords striking confirmation of this view, and is a warning against obstructing and reversing the good work now going on, by the mania of partisanship.

Look at the field of non-partisan temperance efforts.

*Local option*, always necessarily non-partisan, is the watchword in all the British Isles, and in almost all the British Colonies to the ends of the earth—in South Africa, in Australia, in Van Dieman's Land, and in New Zealand. In the British Dominion in North America, from Cape Breton to the great region beyond Lake Winnipeg, by non-partisan local option measures, prohibition has been secured in more than half of the counties. Similar advances have been made by local option in the United States. In three-quarters of the great State of Georgia, in more than one-third of Alabama, in nearly half of Maryland and Mississippi, in considerable portions of Louisiana, South Car-

olina, Tennessee and Arkansas, in twelve counties in Illinois, in more than half of the vast area of Missouri, prohibition has become the settled and well-enforced policy—a triumph of the voluntary choice of the sovereign people, acting without the frenzy, the irritations, and the hindrances incident to partisan strifes. There are towns in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio in which no licenses for the sale of alcoholic beverages have been granted for thirty, forty, and, in some cases, for over fifty years. How has this condition been reached and maintained? By thoroughly non-partisan methods. Total abstinence and prohibition have been thoroughly wrought in the fiber of the people, and it is to be hoped that the dread ghost of partisan temperance may never visit and distract these towns.

Another non-partisan temperance measure is the introduction of *temperance instruction in the public schools*. Probably no measure is so full of hope for the future of the temperance cause as this; but how absurd it would be to attach it to the car of political partisanship. Thus far it has happily been kept clear of such entanglements.

Another non-partisan measure for promoting temperance is the *Law and Order Leagues*. Who can doubt that the rigorous enforcement of the liquor laws is one of the most effective methods of developing and advancing temperance sentiment? In no other way can the weakness of existing laws be so clearly demonstrated and a demand created for better laws. But who can estimate the folly and the hindrance to true reform that would follow making the enforcement of liquor laws to depend upon the ascendancy of any political party.

*Constitutional prohibition* is another non-partisan method. This movement was incepted, and has been carried forward, on this basis; because it is the prerogative of the whole body of the citizens to make and unmake constitutions. The question, therefore, of the constitutional prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic beverages belongs to the whole people. It is too large and too sacred for partisanship. It appeals to partisans to keep their hands off, that it may receive the unbiased suffrages of the whole body of citizens, without prejudice or hindrance. In a technical sense, it is a political measure, for it has to do with civil law; but partisanship should never be thought of in connection with it. It pertains to the common life of the people—the protection of the home, public order, the economic welfare of the body politic, etc., etc. Therefore, in the agitation of the question, it is necessary to plough, and sow, and cultivate the common soil of humanity, to prepare the people for such advanced action. How important that

the profane bitterness, distractions, and entanglements of partisanship should not be allowed to invade this sacred arena, in which the people are being educated for the discharge of this high responsibility.

The constitutional prohibition triumphs in Kansas, Iowa, and Maine were achieved by a scrupulous adherence to these principles, and were therefore triumphs of advanced temperance ideas, by non-partisan methods. And now, while we write, the legislatures of Rhode Island, Texas, and Oregon, by non-partisan processes, have submitted to the people of their several States this great non-partisan measure. No sane man can expect constitutional prohibition in either case to succeed, except by the rigid maintenance of a strict non-partisan neutrality.

Non-partisanship is inscribed upon the banner over which the guiding star of hope leads the way. The ultimate result is not doubtful, and cannot be long delayed, if we strictly follow this policy. The best thought, and civilization of the age are setting themselves more and more against the liquor saloon. Political economy pronounces her verdict against it; medical science discards and denounces it; civil jurisprudence indicts it; philanthropy abhors it; and Christianity pours out her anathemas upon it. Let not these highest pinnacles of modern thought in the most vital relations of civic, scientific, moral, and social life, be corroded and wasted by the bitter acrimonies of partisan politics. Rather, let them be cherished and held in friendly relations, towering higher and higher in the sunlight of progress, and concentrate their indignant frowns upon the liquor saloon, as a relic of more barbarous ages, a moral anachronism in our times.

Let us improve Iowa's motto, and proclaim, "A SCHOOLHOUSE ON EVERY HILL-TOP AND IN EVERY VALLEY, AND NO SALOON ANYWHERE." For this end let all unite, as Republicans, as Democrats, as Third Party Prohibitionists, as Woman Suffragists and Anti-Woman Suffragists, as Protestants, as Roman Catholics, of whatever faith, or of no faith, marching in solid phalanx for the achievement of glorious results for God and humanity.

## LOCAL BRANCHES.

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WHENEVER twelve persons in any locality shall have signed the Platform of Principles of the National League, and paid the required membership fee of one dollar each, they may organize as the — Branch of the National League; and all persons paying the one dollar membership fee annually, shall be *voting* members of the League, and entitled gratuitously to the STANDARD LEAGUE DOCUMENTS, and other publications. Each Branch may retain in its own treasury one half of all the membership fees, for local use, and transmit the other half to the Treasurer of the National League, Joseph D. Weeks, 36 Bromfield Street, Boston. The Directors of any Branch League thus organized may admit to membership suitable persons, who will sign the Platform of Principles, without the payment of the membership fee.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Branch shall from time to time communicate with the National League, at the Boston headquarters, reporting lists of additional members, etc.

## CONSTITUTION FOR LOCAL BRANCHES.

### ARTICLE I.

#### NAME.

The name of this organization shall be "The — Branch of the National League" (non-partisan and non-sectarian) for the suppression of the liquor traffic.

### ARTICLE II.

#### PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES.

1. WE believe the evils of intemperance to be manifold and virulent, alike destructive of individual character, social welfare, and national progress.
2. We believe the common instincts of humanity, the deeper claims of patriotism, and the broader demands of Christian philanthropy, imperatively call upon all men everywhere to make common cause against the source of these evils.
3. We believe the Church of God, temperance organizations, and the circulation of a wise temperance literature, to be the chief reformatory agencies.



4. We believe that moral reforms depend primarily upon intelligent convictions in the hearts of the people.

5. We believe it is the right and duty of the State to legislate against the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and to enforce laws duly enacted, and that good results have always followed wise legislation faithfully enforced.

6. We believe that any proposition so broadly and vitally affecting society in its physical, social, moral, economic, and commercial interests as the suppression of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, involving so many questions of natural rights, should ultimately be submitted to the popular vote, settled by the verdict of the people, and thus lifted above the accidents and fluctuations of partisan legislation.

7. We believe that the temperance cause should avail itself of the advantages of legislative and civil action, secured by legitimate political effort; but we nevertheless believe that partisan political affiliations should be avoided, as expensive, dangerous, and often disastrous modes of moral agitation and education.

### ARTICLE III.

#### OBJECTS.

1. The enforcement of laws against the liquor traffic.
2. The withdrawal of legal sanction from the liquor traffic.
3. The suppression of the liquor traffic.
4. Our ultimate purpose is, by constitutional and statutory provisions, to banish the liquor traffic from the land.

### ARTICLE IV.

#### METHODS.

Discarding partisan entanglements, we announce our sole purpose to be the suppression of the liquor traffic; and for this we purpose,—

1. To create and intensify public sentiment, by the pulpit, the platform, and the press.
2. To educate the young, in the public schools and elsewhere, as to the nature and effects of alcoholic liquors.
3. To use all legitimate civil legislation, and to refer the question for final decision to the constitutional verdict of the people.

We invite persons of all classes, creeds, and parties to unite on this platform, and work and vote against the liquor traffic, without exposing the cause, with its varied interests, to the personal schemes of politicians and the perils of party politics.

### ARTICLE V.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a *voting* member of this Association by signing the Platform of Principles, and paying into the treasury the sum of one dollar per annum; but whenever, in the judgment of the Directors, the interests of the League require it, they may admit *suitable persons* to membership without the payment of one dollar.

ARTICLE VI.

OFFICERS.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and one or more Vice-Presidents.

ARTICLE VII.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

There shall be a Board of seven Directors, including the President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, to be elected at the annual meeting, who shall control the general interests of the League.

ARTICLE VIII.

PLACE OF BUSINESS.

The usual place of business of this Association shall be in —.



PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES  
OF  
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

(NON-PARTISAN AND NON-SECTARIAN.)

1. We believe the evils of intemperance to be manifold and virulent, alike destructive of individual character, social welfare, and national progress.
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3. We believe the Church of God, temperance organizations, and the circulation of a wise temperance literature, to be chief of these moral agencies.
4. We believe that moral reforms depend primarily upon intelligent convictions in the hearts of the people.
5. We believe it is the right and duty of the State to legislate against the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and to enforce laws duly enacted; and that good results have always followed wise legislation when faithfully enforced.
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7. We believe that the temperance cause should avail itself of the advantages of legislative and civil action, secured by legitimate political effort; but we nevertheless believe that partisan political affiliations should be avoided, as expensive, dangerous, and often disastrous modes of moral agitation and education.

*I approve the Platform of Principles of this League,  
and contribute \$.....\* to its funds, and ask that  
my name be enrolled among its members.*

*Name, .....*

*Residence, .....*

*\* Membership fee One Dollar; but larger contributions are earnestly solicited.*

*NOTE.—If you approve the above, sign, detach, and forward it, with contribution, to*

*JOS. D. WEEKS, Treasurer,  
36 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass.*

## PLANS AND PURPOSES.

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1st. We propose to publish a series of STANDARD LEAGUE DOCUMENTS, suited to present exigencies, and of permanent value. The temperance reform, with every decade, assumes new attitudes, presents new phases, as the enemy abandons old redoubts, and casts up new entrenchments. The League will endeavor, through its Documents, to meet these necessities. The first Document, an elaborate statement and thorough discussion of the present non-partisan movement in temperance reform, has been prepared by the President, REV. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. It is now in press, and will be followed by other Documents from REV. E. E. HALE, D.D., REV. ALBERT H. PLUMB, D.D., MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, and others.

2d. We propose the widest and most thorough circulation of this literature, for we are in the midst of an era of popular discussion through the printed page, and the temperance cause must hold its own, and gain fresh conquests among the thinking masses.

3d. We propose to put into the hands of the students in the Colleges and Universities of the land, a valuable scientific discussion on the latest phases of the alcohol question, and also to help forward the movement for scientific temperance instruction in the public schools.

4th. We propose to issue a series of popular Railroad Documents.

5th. We propose treatises on the enforcement of liquor laws, on liquor economics, and legislative remedies.

6th. We propose to enlist the pulpit in a fuller and wider discussion of the subject of temperance.

Other plans for work, lectures, and public meetings, will be prepared in due time.

APPENDIX.





# APPENDIX.

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## TESTIMONIALS OF EMINENT DIVINES AND CIVILIANS IN FAVOR OF THE NON-PARTISAN PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE.

I thoroughly like the non-partisan Prohibition platform of principles. I can indorse them all, and think that they would constitute an excellent common ground for all good temperance people. The great trouble with the temperance movement is, that the forces are not united. If they cannot unite on this platform I shall almost despair of them, but shall not cease to work wherever I can see any good to do.

Sincerely yours,

C. L. GOODELL, D.D.,

*Pastor of Congregational Church, St. Louis.*

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I like your proposal for the promotion of non-partisan and non-sectarian prohibition. I do not believe you can separate your cause altogether from political action, but you can do much to separate it from the friction and by-play of party management.

Very truly yours,

JOHN D. LONG.

*Ex-Gov. of Massachusetts.*

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Your scheme for re-organizing the temperance forces of the country upon a non-partisan basis meets my cordial approbation. The sacred cause ought to be rescued, as soon as possible, from the disastrous results of the unwise management which has so nearly ruined it, by dragging it down to the level of a mere political party contest. I wish you great success in your effort to redeem this imperiled cause. Truly,

S. M. MERRILL, D.D.,

*Bishop of the M. E. Church, Chicago, Ill.*

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The papers which you have given me with respect to non-partisan prohibition, have been examined with the greatest interest. I am distressed about the present attitude of this great question of prohibition. Multitudes will be slow to unite in movements to secure

prohibition, if the organizations with which they may identify themselves shall be forced into political campaigns. Therefore some movement like the one now originated is greatly needed. Every point in your platform of principles has my hearty approbation. And although I cannot see entirely through the whole case to constitutional prohibition, without important political relations, I cannot express my own mind better than you have expressed it for me, and therefore will be glad to give you all the support and influence of which I am capable.

Trusting in God that this is the way out to victory on this great issue, I am,  
Yours truly,

J. M. REID, D.D.,

*Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

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I highly approve of the objects of the National League, and have much confidence in the men at its head. If my name as Vice-President is of use to you, it is at your service.

Yours truly,

H. L. WAYLAND, D.D.,

*Editor of the "National Baptist," Philadelphia, Pa.*

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I have read the platform of principles for non-partisan work to secure prohibition. They embody views which I have long held, and advocated at every suitable opportunity. So powerful and complicated are the forces opposed to us, so many selfish interests are involved in the perpetuation of the liquor traffic, that all the friends of total abstinence and prohibition should unite on some common platform. That platform seems to me the enactment of Constitutional Amendments, in the respective States, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. All Prohibitionists are in favor of this; nor does there seem to be any other prin-



duple which can unite them all. Certain it is, that if they do not unite upon some one principle to the exclusion of everything upon which they cannot unite, prohibition can never be either enacted or enforced.

Respectfully yours,

J. M. BUCKLEY, D.D.,

*Editor of the "Christian Advocate," New York City, N. Y.*

Yours of the 19th inst. just received. I have carefully looked over the platform which you send, and most heartily concur in it, with one single qualification. I have grave doubts as to the possibility of enforcing either constitutional or legislative prohibition in many of the States in the present condition of public sentiment, and against the immense political influence which the liquor interest is able at this time to control. I hope to see the time when, by the other means you specify, we shall be educated up to the point of protecting ourselves by law. I can't help thinking that what I regard as the extremely unwise course of some of the Prohibitionists in the last campaign, has put back the cause of temperance for many years. I see nothing in your platform approving such action; on the contrary, as I understand it, it takes the opposite ground.

The idea of organizing a national association I should think is a good one.

Yours truly,

GEO. G. REYNOLDS,

*Judge of Supreme Court, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

I believe in this.

A. G. HAYGOOD, D.D.,

*President Emory College, Oxford, Ga.*

I fully indorse your platform, and believe that our energies should be concentrated directly on the business in hand, and not embarrassed by complications with party politics. Yours fraternally,

THOS. S. POULSON, D.D.,

*Baltimore, Md.*

I do most heartily approve this idea, and hope it will gain success.

THOS. BOWMAN, D.D.,

E. G. ANDREWS, D.D.,

*Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

I clasp hands with you and with all friends of temperance in this National League. Put me down where you please. I stand on that platform. Yours sincerely,

R. D. HARPER, D.D.,

*Pastor of the Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.*

I have examined the Platform of Principles expressed by the Wesleyan Hall meeting on non-partisan prohibition; and I desire to give it my unqualified approval.

Fraternally yours,

J. H. VINCENT, D.D.,

*Secretary of Meth. S. S. Union, New York City.*

I most cordially approve the "PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES" set forth in the paper handed me for "NON-PARTISAN PROHIBITION." Separate political action has never seemed to me to be wise or desirable, and has never commanded a tenth of our real Prohibition strength, and I do not believe it ever will. Maine, Kansas, Iowa, point the path to victory, and lead the way. All true friends of prohibition can co-operate in the good plan suggested. The only suggestion I have to offer is, that you include in your "platform of principles," a declaration in favor of the enforcement of law by the chosen officers of the law.

Yours for absolute and effective prohibition,

A. J. KYNETT, D.D.,

*Corresponding Secretary of the Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.*

I fully indorse the within platform of principles. Constitutional prohibition is the one antidote for the evils of intemperance.

J. W. HOOD,

*Bishop African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Fayetteville, N. C.*

The formation of "a national organization, as a center around which the best temperance forces can crystallize," has been the imperative need of this great work of reform, and is still. The wisdom of such an organization must commend itself to all who would secure the largest effectiveness and success of this work. . . . I most heartily indorse the proposed movement, and shall gladly aid it so far as I can. Fraternally,

F. M. ELLIS, D.D.,

*Pastor of a Baptist Church, Baltimore, Md.*

I am quite confident that this plan for temperance work is what the day and the hour demand imperatively, to save the cause.

W. H. OLIN, D.D.,  
*Binghamton, N. Y.*

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I have carefully considered the several propositions you were pleased to submit for my views concerning a non-partisan and unsectarian movement, to work throughout the entire Union for the promotion of prohibition. For more than forty years I have labored and aimed to advance just such an organization. Now it seems a possible thing.

To build this great reform movement on a party—and no matter which political party—is not merely to build upon the sand, but upon the ever-shifting and faithless quicksand.

The nation is imperiled, and all its institutions menaced by this power. Reform or ruin lies before us. On the Platform of Principles your association has adopted, all men of all creeds and classes may stand and wage war until victory crowns the work; and may a kind Heaven hasten the day.

Very truly yours,

C. K. MARSHALL, D.D.,  
*Vicksburg, Miss.*

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I very heartily approve the principles announced in this circular.

H. K. CARROLL,  
*Editor of the "N. Y. Independent."*

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The temperance cause will have acquired its very highest vantage-ground when it has become a "non-partisan and non-sectarian" question—in the sense that it has become entrenched in the convictions of all churches and all parties. I have no word of rebuke for those who, believing that the whiskey power is re-enforced by political parties, have thought it best to proceed in a "Third Party." However, I pray for, and am ready to work for, the hour when all citizens, inside of, and beyond, all parties and churches, will make instinctive and self-defensive war on the liquor traffic.

ARTHUR EDWARDS, D.D.,  
*Editor of the "Northwestern Christian Advocate," Chicago, Ill.*

BENJ. ST. JAMES FRY, D.D.,  
*"Central Christian Advocate," St. Louis, Mo.*

This new movement will enable all Christians, of whatever party or sect, to unite to suppress the liquor traffic. The full strength of the prohibition sentiment can be projected against this enormous evil by this manner of work.

B. F. CRAREY, D.D.,  
*Editor of the "California Christian Advocate."*

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I most heartily subscribe to the above platform.

JAMES M. KING, D.D.,  
*New York City.*

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This I believe to be the Christian, patriotic, and common-sense view of this question.

O. P. FITZGERALD, D.D.,  
*Editor "Christian Advocate," Nashville, Tenn.*

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I have read the Platform of Principles adopted by the non-partisan prohibition meeting recently held in Boston and presided over by Dr. Dorchester, and I fully agree with the principles therein set forth, and commend the wisdom of the action contemplated to all temperance workers.

WM. P. STOWE, D.D.,  
*Agent of the Western Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

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I heartily subscribe to the principles set forth in the above platform. They accord with the views I have held for years, and I am ready in every proper way to give them my cordial support.

SAM. K. COX, D.D.,  
*Pastor of Methodist Episcopal Church South Washington, D. C.*

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I heartily subscribe to the within platform as wise and judicious, and hope the friends of the cause may come up to the work with united front. I look on the St. John movement as one very unwise, and I fear one that will do immense harm to the cause. The battle is one that will require good leadership, and unflinching energy on the part of the rank and file.

HON. OLIVER HOYT,  
*Stamford, Ct.*

In the present condition of political affairs, I see no hope of unifying the Temperance elements of the country. We are a scattered, disunited, disheartened people, without leadership, system, governing impulse or center of operations. How to make common cause against a common foe, is a problem not solved as yet by any existing political party. To coalesce is the needed thing, and certainly it cannot be done on any political basis yet offered. I see no hope of securing prohibition of the liquor traffic etc., on any scheme now before the public. I therefore indorse the plan proposed in your Platform of Principles: for in it I see hope, and on it all may stand.

May God favor us with his guidance in this hour of peril. Yours, very truly,

THOS. B. SHEPHERD, P.E.,  
*Northern New York Conf.*

I hail as wise and timely the declaration of principles agreed upon, and the methods of work suggested by the meeting in Wesleyan Hall, Boston, Nov. 28, 1884. The movement proposed has that non-partisan form and character which alone at present can enlist the co-operation of the friends of temperance in all political parties and religious bodies which is necessary to create a dominant public sentiment that will demand, secure, and maintain the prohibition of the drink-traffic throughout our land.

M WALDRON, D.D.,  
*Bishop of the Meth. Ep. Church.*

I cordially indorse every plank in your platform, and especially the one in regard to partisan political action.

WM. WELLS, LL.D.,  
*Prof. in Union College.*

I cordially indorse every principle in the Non-Partisan Prohibition Platform, adopted at Wesleyan Hall, Nov. 28th, 1884. I have long been satisfied that a separate political party on the basis of Temperance, nominating separate candidates for county, state, and national offices, is not only a mistake, but always and only damaging to the cause of temperance. I think the energies of temperance men and women should be directed to one point: securing a vote of the people on amendments to our State constitutions, of a plain, clear, positive and thorough prohibitory character. Any measure short of prohibition is only palliative, and in the end will be a failure. Demand of our legislators a

popular vote on the question of prohibition. That proposition is so reasonable, that if earnestly pressed, the majority party must grant it, or fall into the minority.

Yours truly,

J. W. S. WHITE,  
*Judge of Court of Common Pleas, Pittsburgh, Pa.*

The principles herein enunciated, and the methods proposed to carry them out, meet my unqualified approval.

REV. GEORGE E. HITE,  
*Presiding Elder of Wheeling District, West Va.*

Having read the Platform of Principles adopted at a meeting held at Wesleyan Hall Nov. 28, 1884, I desire to express my hearty and cordial approval thereof. Having been a Prohibitionist for thirty years, and believing that the safety of our nation is to be in the legal prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic liquors, your plan commends itself to my judgment as one that will insure victory.

JOHN W. RAY,  
*Banker, Indianapolis, Ill.*

I heartily indorse the isolation and consolidation of the Prohibition issue in the non-partisan movement.

J. O. PECK, D.D.,  
*New Haven, Ct.*

I have read, several times, the Platform of Temperance Principles which you handed to me at Baltimore, and I fail to find anything in them which I cannot approve.

In regard to partisan political action, I wish to say that I have always regarded it as unwise to organize, and attempt to maintain a political party in the interest of prohibition. There are times when candidates should be put in the field against the candidates of the old, existing parties; but it is much better to meet the demands for such action when they arise, than to put up candidates at every election, irrespective of the action of the old parties, or other important conditions that may arise.

I believe that a wise leadership of our temperance forces would ultimately result in the accomplishment of prohibition sooner without a Prohibition party, than with it. I am confirmed in this opinion by my own efforts for several years in the State of New York. We accomplished much, and could have accomplished much more, had we not been constantly met by the determined opposition of

the prohibition party men. They met us in temperance conventions, at political conventions, and before committees of the legislature, and did their utmost to prevent the incorporation of planks into political platforms, and the enactment of stringent laws, and such as were calculated to prepare the way for prohibition. They did not want the Republican party to do anything for the cause.

Yours truly,

S. MCKEAN, D.D.,  
*Troy, N. Y.*

If the evils of intemperance are destructive of the "individual character and social welfare" of even the strong among the people, as they indisputably do, what may we not fear of their evils in their sad workings among the weak. Ranked among the poor of the people, I most heartily wish a Godspeed to the Platform of Principles announced by the non-partisan movement recently inaugurated, with Rev. Dr. Dorchester as President.

B. T. TANNER, D.D.,  
*Editor "A. M. E. Church Review," Philadelphia, Pa.*

The time has fully come when citizens of all creeds and parties should unite in non-partisan effort against the evils of intemperance.

S. F. UPHAM, D.D.,  
*Prof. in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.*

I heartily indorse the foregoing Platform of Principles.

W. W. CASE, D.D.,  
*P. E. Cleveland District, East Ohio Conf. M. E. Ch.*

The Platform of Temperance Principles which I find in the "Non-Partisan Prohibition" tracts which you put in my hands, seems to me to embody correct theories as to the further prosecution of the Temperance reform. I believe that by working faithfully along this line the curse of intemperance can be removed. Success to you and your fellow-workers. Ever fraternally,

J. H. BAYLISS, D.D.,  
*Editor of "Western Christian Advocate," Cincinnati, O.*

I heartily agree to the within.

ALEX. W. WAYMAN, D.D.,  
*One of the Bishops of the African M. E. Church.*

I concur most fully.

JOHN M. BROWN, D.D.,  
*One of the Bishops of the African M. E. Church.*

The formation of such a non-partisan and non-sectarian society as is proposed, is of the utmost need in our country to-day.

Your "Platform of Principles" is full, strong, judicious, and must meet the approval of all true temperance people. Yours,

C. B. PITBLADO,  
*Pastor of the Broadway M. E. Ch., Providence, R. I.*

I have read the scheme, and, on the whole, feel satisfied, and will sign it. My preference would be to squarely confine it to *State*, and not national legislation, for prohibition. Those who ran the Prohibition car off the track and wrecked the Republican ticket in November, will scarcely be content to support these Principles unless, on the first occasion that offers, we all unite to nominate a *ticket*. Hence, I believe the cause would be aided more by their absence than by their presence. The country is very weary of these utterly impractical men; and union with them is weakness.

However, I am willing you should count me in on the Principles. I sign,  
Yours ever,

J. L. WITTHROW, D.D.,  
*Pastor of the Park St. Church, Boston.*

I rejoice to learn, through the circular you have handed me, that a movement is contemplated, the purpose of which is to organize the temperance forces of the country on a basis that will truly represent the predominant temperance sentiment of the hour. I most heartily indorse the declaration of Principles made by the meeting at Wesleyan Hall, and will aid the general plan proposed in all ways within my power. Yours truly,

O. H. WARREN, D.D.,  
*Editor of "Northern Christian Advocate," Syracuse, N. Y.*

Yours of the 20th inst. is in hand, also the programme of "Non-Partisan Prohibition." I fully concur in all the convictions that it ex-

presses, and think they pretty fully cover the ground to be occupied. Organization is necessary, but the conditions required of any who would co-operate in the work, should be the simplest possible. The only question to be asked is, "Do you favor the suppression of the liquor traffic *wholly*, if possible; if not, as far as possible by statute laws, or by constitutional prohibition?" and, "Will you work for it, and, if a voter, vote for it?"

It is matter of the highest importance to keep this subject wholly disentangled with any and every other; and because there are a not inconsiderable number of earnest Prohibitionists who disfavor the *enfranchisement of women*, and who object to having them active participators in political movements, I would suggest the expediency of not having the two sexes acting together in the same bodies, but separately.

I have not been identified with any of the recent politico-temperance movements, although I am an intense *Prohibitionist*, and am ready to restrain or burden the liquor traffic in every possible way, till it shall be thoroughly extirpated. I therefore fully concur in the "wish" last expressed in your paper. Truly and respectfully yours,

DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.,

Editor of the "Methodist Review," New York City.

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I have read the within statement of Principles of temperance reform, and I have the pleasure to approve them.

C. W. SMITH, D.D.,

Editor of the "Pittsburgh Christian Advocate."

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This movement has my hearty approval. I think on this basis we have hope for unity and strength for the future.

Yours respectfully,

J. D. BEEMAN,

President of Vt. Seminary and Female College.

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I was much pleased to hear from you that a movement is inaugurated in Boston by such honored persons as Daniel Dorchester, Edward E. Hale, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, yourself, and many other persons of like eminence, to direct the temperance sentiment of the country in a non-partisan channel, where it can be strengthened and utilized till it is

strong enough to command a majority of the votes; and not to allow it to be misdirected by ill-advised friends, or enemies in disguise. Such strength it can only obtain by appealing to the moral sentiments of the people, and avoiding partisan affiliation. . . . Unfortunately, good intentions alone are not all that is required. It is not enough to worship the *ideal* in this hard-working, matter-of-fact world. The difficulty with such temperance friends is, that they are governed too much by sentiment, and too little by experience, or knowledge of human nature. They feel strongly the evils of intemperance, and believe all that is necessary is to give the people a chance, and they will vote overwhelmingly in favor of prohibition; but repeated failure in that line does not teach them any wisdom. The fundamental error of such enthusiasts is in thinking human nature better than it is.

. . . . When told of their suicidal course, they reply that they are going to "trust in God, and vote for principle;" just as though trusting in God will do any good while they refuse to use, with good judgment, the wisest means to accomplish the desired object; for God only helps those who, by practical sense and intelligence, employ the best instruments to accomplish his will; and, in this way, show that they *deserve* success.

And they also point to the example of the early Abolitionists to justify their course in organizing a third party, claiming by that means the Abolitionists succeeded in abolishing slavery; but such reference to the course of the Abolitionist is not analogous, nor is it true. The *Third Party* movement of the Abolitionists was not the means of abolishing slavery. Slavery was not abolished from choice, or by votes. It was abolished by military necessity as a war measure; and even then very reluctantly—at the last moment, when every other means had failed.

I cordially indorse the Platform of Principles for Non-Partisan Prohibition you have adopted, as the quickest and surest way to secure both statutory and constitutional prohibition.

Hoping that wisdom will guide your counsels, and that all friends will unite in a harmonious platform to suppress the undisputed evils of intemperance, I am with you earnestly in the cause. Yours truly,

J. CALLANAN,

Des Moines, Ia.

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I heartily approve the Platform of Principles you send me, and hope that such a movement may do something toward preventing a retrograde of sentiment and action in regard to prohibition.

J. F. CHAFFE, D.D.,

Minneapolis, Minn.

The Platform of Principles for a national movement in favor of "Non-Partisan Prohibition, submitted to me, I most cordially indorse. As a representative from the far South, I join hands with you for the triumph of these "principles." Fraternally,

CHAS. B. GALLOWAY, D.D.,  
 Editor "New Orleans Christian Advocate," M.  
 E. Church, South.

opposition. The inevitable sequiter is partisan action. Count me in with that opposition. But if we can get action *without* party action, it is a thousand times better. If you mean this, I join you with my whole heart. *Anything* to abate and annihilate this awful curse.  
 Yours very truly,

HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D.,  
 Chicago, Ill.

I have read with as much attention as the pressure of these hours would permit, a "Platform of Principles" submitted to the friends of temperance by Edward E. Hale, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, and yourself. I heartily approve and commend. The error—as I must regard it—of the Political Prohibition Party, and especially of that mother-hearted daughter of Providence, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, cost me an unspeakable heartache. The noble and growing work of the latter body appears to me to have been severely checked. I sincerely hope to find my judgment at fault; but such is my present conviction. Daniel Webster once said, "Christianity must be divine, or it would long since have perished through the follies of its friends." Let us hope that the temperance cause has a vitality too intense to be smothered by the well-meant mistakes of its honest friends. The "Old Guard" who have spent life in this war, ought now, in the fear of God, to agree upon a policy of action for the future, as far as possible from partisan alliances, ready to use politics, but (by permission) not to be partisan.

May our Lord Jesus lead us out of discouragement and doubt, into clear, vigorous, and agreeing convictions and methods.

Fraternally yours,

M. C. BRIGGS, D.D.,  
 California.

I heartily approve of all the "beliefs" expressed in your "Platform of Principles," unless the 7th is an exception, viz.: "We believe partisan political action to be," etc., etc. If emphasis is put upon the word *partisan*, I might indorse this also. "*Political*" action I deem indispensable. When any party takes ground openly and avowedly against prohibition, "*partisan* political action" becomes inevitable. It is undesirable, but it may be a necessity. These great moral questions are questions that concern in a vital way every interest of property, of law, of life. They will thrust themselves into politics. The liquor interest *will* have a party if it can command one. Getting one, there must be an

I heartily indorse your proposed formation of a society for the promotion of non-partisan prohibition throughout the country. The temperance movement is evidently moral in its design and essential characteristics. Parties are political, and temporary. I have therefore doubted the wisdom of committing this great work to any particular political party; but, on the other hand, have felt that the better elements of all political parties concentrated into a society such as you propose would harmonize with the spirit, and serve the end, of this moral agitation. Your Platform of Principles meets my warm approval.

Yours sincerely, for the success of the non-partisan prohibition movement,

REV. PROF. J. C. PRICE,  
 Salisbury, N. C.

I approve of the within as the proper basis for successful temperance work.

REV. N. SHUMATE,  
 Louisiana, Mo

I have read the "Platform of Principles" agreed upon at Wesleyan Hall, Nov. 28th, by a meeting of gentlemen and ladies held to consider measures for the formation of a society to work for the promotion of prohibitory measures, and am in hearty accord therewith.

REV. JOHN B. QUIGG,  
 Smyrna, Del.

We have tested this method in Iowa, and have no fault to find with the results. When we can unite the temperance people of all parties and both sexes in a determined war-

fare on the liquor traffic, and when they all move forward in solid column, we shall see the cause respected in the halls of legislation and by all executive officers in the land.

Your friend,

M. M. GILCHRIST,  
*Superintendent of Schools, Iowa.*

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I have read with care the Platform of the proposed organization, and find its declarations both wise and timely. I will do all in my power to aid the movement. The circumstances just now about us make it necessary to establish and maintain such an organization. Even in prohibition Kansas a *Third Party political Prohibition Convention* has just been held, and methods have been adopted which, if successful, would utterly destroy constitutional prohibition in this State.

REV. A. B. CAMPBELL,  
*Topeka, Kansas.*

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Yours, inclosing "Platform of Principles," as formulated by the "Wesleyan Hall" meeting in Boston, is received.

In answer I have but to say, it has my UNQUALIFIED APPROVAL, and will receive my hearty co-operation; being, as it is, the position I have held throughout the long thirty years' war in Iowa against the liquor traffic, the right of the people, *disentangled from political parties*, to demand protection of their moral resources by State and National law.

Yours truly,

EMORY MILLER, D.D.,  
*Pastor of First M. E. Church, Des Moines*

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I have received the circular entitled "Non-partisan Prohibition," and answer, that I fully accord with its Platform of Principles.

Yours very truly,

DANIEL AGNEW,  
*Ex-Judge of Supreme Court of Pa.*

I most heartily indorse the "Platform of Principles" therein set forth. I have been "a non-partisan prohibitionist" in Iowa for thirty years, and have lamented the misguided zeal of those who have engaged in separate prohibition party movements; and am fully persuaded that such movements in Iowa have been injurious to the cause. Our State victory for prohibition was gained chiefly, if not entirely, by non-partisan moral and political action, and must be maintained in the same way. Yours truly,

PROF. S. N. FELLOWS,  
*State University, Iowa City.*

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I have read with interest the Platform of Principles of the Non-Partisan Prohibition Society which you kindly sent me. The object of the Society is one that ought to receive the hearty approval of every Christian, every patriot, and every philanthropist and I believe that the methods proposed are more likely to succeed than any hitherto tried. Yours very truly,

WM. F. KING, D.D.,  
*Mt. Vernon, Iowa.*

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Rev. Geo. F. Magoun, D.D., LL.D., of Iowa College, in an article on Non-Partisan Prohibition in *The Golden Rule*, in March, 1885, says: "We adopted the Amendment irrespective of party. So of the present statute enacted since. The contest was 'exciting' as between prohibition and the saloon and license united, but was not politically 'partisan'. Many insisted on both being submitted to vote, who were anti-prohibition. Some of these voted in the legislature for the statute, not because the party required it,—for it did not,—but because the people of the State, irrespective of party, had adopted the principle by thirty thousand majority. The recent Temperance Convention recognized this, never referring to the Republican party in its resolutions, calling again and again on 'all citizens, irrespective of all party,' to sustain the law, and declaring that 'in our social and political action on this subject we will take no backward steps; and shall expect of any organizations of any kind, that look to Prohibitionists for support, that there be no retreat or equivocation as to supporting the law.' This resolution was shaped by myself, the large committee—one from each Congressional district—having

placed them all in my hands for revision. Every Democrat and Greenbacker in the Convention heartily approved, and they were passed without amendment or a single dissenting vote. Again and again their non-partisan character was made the ground of supporting them. And the journal quoted above says of the Convention and its happy results in strengthening the law: "All this is good and reassuring as to the success of prohibition, and especially in the fact that it is so *successfully keeping itself clear from party entanglements and dead weights.*"

I write this, not alone that Iowa may not be misunderstood, but that other States may be encouraged to do likewise. Iowa stands on the platform of "The National League for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic," and means to stay there. Indeed, I found some of the language of that platform in the resolutions placed in my hands at the Convention, for which I could not make room in condensing and consolidating the work of other hands. Every Prohibitionist in Iowa would assent to Article 7 of the League, viz.: "We believe that the temperance cause should avail itself of the advantages of legislative and civil action, secured by legitimate political effort; but we nevertheless believe that partisan political affiliations should be avoided, as expensive, dangerous, and often disastrous modes of moral agitation and education." And most heartily do we approve the League whose office is in your city, as well as the Law and Order League (National) whose office is at New York, as wise and timely.

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I do most cordially approve of every word in your Committee's "Platform of Principles." The Lord prosper the cause.

Yours truly,

REV. DANIEL J. BURRELL,  
*Dubuque, Iowa.*

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WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 22, 1884.

*Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Clinton, Iowa:*

MADAM,—I have just received your note of the 16th inst., inclosing a circular containing the Platform of Principles adopted at a meeting of the friends of temperance held at Boston, on the 28th of November last.

I am glad to know that the cause of Prohibition still has wide-awake, thorough-going, and reliable friends, whom no defeat or discouraging circumstances can dishearten. The last declaration is entirely correct, but is, I think, liable to be misunderstood by some good, well-meaning people—I mean those people who seem to think that the roof can

be placed on the Temple of Prohibition before the foundation has been securely laid.

This nation, that we seek to redeem from the curse of the liquor traffic, is composed of individual States, and these individual States when joined together form the foundation upon which the Nation is builded; and national prohibition cannot be had until a sufficient number of these States are shaped and moulded into proper form, so as to present not only a symmetrical structure, but also a safe and substantial one. We may not hope to place the capstone with shoutings upon the summit until the foundations and the walls are completed. The Parthenon of the Greeks would not have found a place in history on account of beauty, if the Pentelic marble that composed it had not first been "hewn to forms of symmetry."

What we need and must have (before we can hope to have National Constitutional Prohibition), is constitutional prohibition in a sufficient number of the individual States. Then, and not until then, we can have it. First the blade, then the stalk, then the corn. We now have Maine, Iowa, Kansas ranged on the side of Prohibition. The same means and appliances that placed these States under the banner of Prohibition, will produce the same results if applied to other States. We must "learn to labor, and to wait."

I am not certain that I entirely understand the 7th declaration. My own notion and my practice has been to cast my vote where in my judgment it would be most likely to do the most good and the least harm to prohibition, and never under any circumstances, even by indirection, to do anything to aid the enemies and punish the friends of the cause. I know and you know that the friends of prohibition carried the State of Iowa by pursuing this line of policy, and thus prepared one stone with which to help construct the Temple of National Prohibition. This was not done in a day. It took time, and labor, and patience. It required courage and self-sacrifice to such an extent that some became discouraged, and abandoned the contest; but when one fell out of the ranks or deserted to the enemy, two took the place; and so, as the months and years went by, the struggle continued. Sometimes adverse circumstances and injudicious or false friends shrouded the future in gloom, and again the foregleams of glory would brighten the horizon, until finally victory perched upon the Prohibition banner.

It is scarcely necessary, I presume, to advert to the fact that this has been accomplished in our State, and, indeed, in every State where legal prohibition exists, through one of the political organizations; and this, in my opinion, must continue to be the case as long as we are not strong enough to win a victory single-handed, and as long as we can secure any assistance from a political organization without any compromise of principle on our part.

If one political party places a plank in their platform favoring the traffic, and courting the support of the liquor interests, and the opposing party does not do so, it seems to me



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